



FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-AFR-93-082
Friday
30 April 1993

Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

FBIS-APR-93-082

CONTENTS

30 April 1993

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

CENTRAL AFRICA

Burundi

Opposition Parties Name Presidential Candidates [Bujumbura Radio] 1

Cameroon

Statement Notes Student Death, Dismissal of 18 [PANA] 1

Central African Republic

Candidate Explains Dislike for Elections Date [Libreville Radio] 1

Gabon

Investigation Ordered Into Zambian Plane Crash [PANA] 2

Explosion Before Crash Suggested [Lusaka Radio] 2

Zaire

Government Refuses To Sever Relations [Kinshasa Radio] 2

Government Protests Western Embassy Visa Practices [Kinshasa TV] 2

Embassies May Face Retaliation [Kinshasa Radio] 3

'Kidnapped' Minister Under House Arrest [AFP] 3

EAST AFRICA

Eritrea

Isayas Cited on Relationship With Ethiopia [Addis Ababa Radio] 4

Canada Recognizes Eritrean Independence [Addis Ababa Radio] 4

Ethiopia

Minister Calls Eritrean Referendum Free, Fair [Addis Ababa Radio] 4

Kenya

President Supports Eritrean Referendum Results [Nairobi Radio] 4

President Holds Talks With Visiting UK Official [Nairobi Radio] 4

KANU Urges Trade Union To Call Off Strike [KNA] 5

EC Approves Grant for Conservation, Wildlife [Nairobi Radio] 5

UN Environment Official Denies Headquarters Move [Nairobi Radio] 5

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

De Klerk Apologizes for 'Misery' of Apartheid [Johannesburg TV] 6

Rejects Abdication [SAPA] 6

New Party Symbol, Colors [Johannesburg Radio] 6

De Klerk, Mandela Discuss Political Situation on CNN 6

De Klerk Urges ANC To Eliminate Radicals [SAPA] 6

De Klerk Says Supporters From All Groups [SAPA]	7
De Klerk Views Election Timetable [SAPA]	7
Mandela Says Reform Process Working [SAPA]	7
Mandela To Urge More UK Investment During Visit [Johannesburg Radio]	8
ANC Considers Screening Marchers After Vandalism [Johannesburg Radio]	8
ANC Sees Danger of 'Unruly' Mass Action [SAPA]	9
Police Urge Banning of ANC Mass Action [SAPA]	9
De Klerk on Rights, Responsibilities of Mass Action [SAPA]	9
Goldstone Recommends Tough Mass Action Control Measures [Johannesburg Radio]	10
ANC Opposes Proposed Occupation of White Schools [Johannesburg Radio]	10
Conservative Party Youth To Resist White Schools' Occupation [SAPA]	10
Court Extends Derby-Lewis' Detention for 10 Days [SAPA]	11
Police Release Man After Questioning on Hani Killing [Umtata Radio]	11
Police Report Arrests in Hani Funeral Murders [SAPA]	11
Memorial Rallies Held in Honor of Tambo	12
Sexwale Speaks in Umtata [Umtata Radio]	12
More on Remarks [SAPA]	12
Holomisa Pays Tribute [SAPA]	12
Zambia's Kaunda on Negotiations [SAPA]	13
Inkatha's Mdlalose Opposes Setting of Election Date [London International]	13
IFP's Buthelezi Addresses Italian Institute [SAPA]	14
Botha Comments on TBVC States, Foreign Policy [SAPA]	14
WORK IN PROGRESS Views ANC Prospects, Strategy	15
Chances of Election Victory [Apr/May]	15
ANC, NP Election Strategies [Apr/May]	19
Link to COSATU 'Reconstruction Accord' [Apr/May]	20
PATRIOT Blames De Klerk for Hani Memorial Chaos [23 Apr]	21

SOUTHERN AFRICA

Angola

Reportage on Proceedings at Peace Talks	22
UNITA Reports Lack of Progress [Voz do Galo Negro]	22
Government Negotiator Updates [Luanda Radio]	22
'No Significant Progress' [Luanda TV]	23
Government Team Hopeful of Accord [Luanda Radio]	23
UNITA Says Talks Back on Track [Luanda Radio]	24
U.S. Urged To Ensure Triple Zero [Voz do Galo Negro]	24
UN Envoy Willing To Extend Talks [London International]	24
FALA Troops Down Helicopter in Cabinda [Voz do Galo Negro]	25
Radio Claims MPLA Loses Forward Post in Huila [Voz do Galo Negro]	25
Chissano Envoy Brings Message for Dos Santos [Maputo Radio]	25

Mozambique

Germany Urges Renamo To Drop Military Option [Maputo Radio]	25
Dhlakama To Visit Netherlands, France [Maputo Radio]	26

Zambia

Air Force Says Sabotage Not Ruled Out in Crash [Johannesburg Radio]	26
---	----

Zimbabwe

Country's Labor Movement 'at Its Weakest' [SAPA]	26
--	----

WEST AFRICA

Burkina Faso

Compaore Returns From Mauritania, Morocco [Ouagadougou Radio] 27

Cote d'Ivoire

Speaker Bedie Stresses Dialogue at Assembly Session [Abidjan Radio] 27

Post, Telecommunications Work Resumes [FRATERNITE MATIN 29 Apr] 27

Liberia

NPFL 'Comeback' Seen in Bong Mines Fighting [London International] 27

Nigeria

Factions at Abuja Talks Agree on Cease-Fire Plans [Lagos International] 28

Sudan Government Spokesman Says Talks Progressing [PANA] 28

House of Representatives Adopts Motion on Sudan [Lagos International] 28

Babangida Meets OAU Secretary, Cuban Vice President [Lagos TV] 28

Official Seeks Deployment of National Guard [London International] 29

Gambia Hails Nigeria's Military Training Assistance [PANA] 29

Burundi

Opposition Parties Name Presidential Candidates

EA2804162093 Bujumbura Radio-Television Nationale du Burundi Radio in French 1100 GMT 27 Apr 93

[Excerpts] The opposition People's Party [PP], one of Burundi's 10 political formations, revealed in a press release the name of the person selected to be its presidential candidate. PP has chosen Mr. Melchior Ndadaye, chairman of the opposition Front for Democracy in Burundi [FRODEBU].

The opposition National Alliance for Economic and Social Development [ANADDE] party executive committee, joined by representatives of provincial and communal committees, held a meeting in Bujumbura on 25 April. They examined the political situation prevailing in the country and resolved that ANADDE will take part in the forthcoming presidential elections. [passage omitted]

In line with ANADDE's participation, the meeting chose Mr. Ignace Bankamwabo as its presidential candidate. Should the presidential candidate not meet the requirements of the law, the meeting asked the executive committee to instruct party members to allow them to elect in all conscience another candidate of their choice, taking into account ANADDE's objectives.

It is also worth noting that the People's Reconciliation Party has denied any intention to support the Unity and National Progress Party [UPRONA] candidate in the case of a second ballot.

President Buyoya, the UPRONA candidate, is due to be briefed this afternoon by the Interior Ministry on whether his candidacy will be approved or not.

Cameroon

Statement Notes Student Death, Dismissal of 18

AB2904125693 Dakar PANA in English 1036 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Yaounde, 29 April (CAMNEWS/PANA)—Eighteen students belonging to a radical opposition calling itself the Parliament have been dismissed from the University of Yaounde, a government statement said on Wednesday. The dismissal followed an incident in which one of them, Djeuguoue Kamga Collins, was burned to death in his hostel on Sunday. Kamga, 22, a second year law student at the University of Yaounde II, was said to have disagreed with the parliament over the payment of school fees demanded by the authorities as part of new reforms in higher education in the country.

The dissenting students set him on fire in his hostel when they learned that he had paid the fees contrary to the stand of the group not to pay any fees whatever. Kamga was said to have been moved to a hospital where he died later.

Under the new reform, students in universities in the country are required to pay 50,000 F [francs] CFA (265 F CFA : \$1) as fees each year as against 300,000 F CFA for foreign students. The annual fee for foreign students in the Faculty of Medicine and Biological Sciences was fixed at 1,000,000 F CFA.

Central African Republic

Candidate Explains Dislike for Elections Date

AB2904155593 Libreville Africa No. 1 in French 0730 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Presidential and parliamentary elections will be held on 13 October in the Central African Republic. This date was accepted and then announced on 28 April by the government of Prime Minister Enoch Derant-Lakoue, whom the opposition has been accusing for some time now of playing into Andre Kolingba's hands regarding his wait-and-see policy.

Apart from the prime minister and the head of state, four other political figures have since announced that they will be standing for the elections, which have been postponed many times following the unsuccessful 25 October elections. One of the candidates, Abel Goumba, a member of the Consultative Group of Democratic Forces. We have just spoken to him on the telephone, and he affirms that President Kolingba is still acting illegally by setting the date for elections on 13 October. According to Professor Goumba, the president has no legitimacy, since his mandate is over.

[Begin recording] [Goumba] How can you be satisfied when a head of state starts to deceive his people? Central Africans and all democrats had, up until now, been waiting for these elections. First, it is an unconstitutional act, which shows that the government is incapable of organizing elections in its own country. Our Constitution states that in the event of a government in abeyance, elections should be held 20 days at the earliest and three months at the latest. In this case, the head of state set the election date for a year later.

[Unidentified reporter] Professor Goumba, isn't that being contradictory? It is known that you insisted that the government set the election timetable as soon as possible, and this has now been done.

[Goumba] We are calling for elections as soon as possible, but in this case, it is a matter of reorganizing cancelled elections. The Joint Electoral Commission suggested certain dates. The prime minister said he was only waiting for the Joint Electoral Commission to set the date.

[Reporter] Exactly what don't you like about the fact that the election timetable has been set for October?

[Goumba] General Kolingba and his prime minister, both presidential candidates, are afraid of losing the elections. This is why they postponed the elections. They

wish to take advantage of resources as state leaders to try and restore their fortunes, buy peoples' consciences, and take measures to make up lost ground. It is as simple as that. [end recording]

Gabon

Investigation Ordered Into Zambian Plane Crash

AB2904120293 Dakar PANA in English 1144 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Libreville, 29 April (AGP-GAB/PANA)—The Gabonese Government has ordered an investigation to ascertain the exact cause of the crash of a Zambian Buffalo CT 15 aircraft in which 30 people, including 18 members of its national soccer team, died on Tuesday.

Gabonese Transport Minister Jerome Ngoua-Bekale said in Libreville on Wednesday that the investigation will be conducted by officials from Gabon, Zambia, and the Canadian maker of the aircraft which crashed off the shores of Gabon soon after take-off from the Leon Mba Airport where it refuelled.

The minister recalled that the ill-fated flight landed at the airport from Brazzaville for a two-hour stopover, during which time it took 2,331 litres of fuel and settled the bill, including airport taxes, in dollars.

The take-off was in conformity with international procedures, Ngoua-Bekale said, adding that the control tower signalled an alarm when the flight failed to respond to its calls a while later.

Reports from Libreville said the search for the bodies of the victims continued on Thursday.

Meanwhile, the president of the Gabonese Football Federation, Mackaya Tamane, said he was shocked by the sad news and expressed his deepest condolences to the bereaved country.

Explosion Before Crash Suggested

MB2904195093 Lusaka Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Eyewitnesses in Libreville said today that the Zambian Air Force [ZAF] plane which crashed and killed all on board may have exploded before crashing into the sea. Witnesses said they saw what looked like an explosion as the plane flew over a suburb of Libreville. A French woman who lives in the neighborhood said she saw what looked like a large yellow flame which looked like the sun.

The Gabonese Government issued a statement today saying that the pilot of the Zambia Air Force plane did not respond to a controller's call, after which emergency procedures were set in motion. The Gabonese spokesman says take-off occurred in conformity with international procedures at 2344 local time after refuelling in Libreville.

And our reporter in Libreville, David Musonda, reports that so far only 18 bodies have been recovered of the 30 people who perished in the accident. He reports that all the bodies were mutilated. Foreign Affairs Minister Vernon Mwaanga looked after the recovery of the bodies.

A 25-man strong, high-powered delegation which included [word indistinct] experts [words indistinct] specialists and Youth and Sports Minister Dipak Patel left for Gabon today to investigate the cause of the plane crash. ZAF Commander Lieutenant General (Ronnie Shikapwashe) is also in the delegation. The DC-8 Zambia Airways plane which carried the delegation was loaded with 30 coffins for the deceased national team members.

The Gabonese authorities have [words indistinct] air crash in which the Zambian national football team was killed. Gabonese Transport Minister Ngoua Bekale said today that the inquiry into the disaster would include Gabonese and Zambian experts, as well as representatives from the aircraft's Canadian manufacturers.

Zaire

Government Refuses To Sever Relations

AB2804200593 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The Birindwa government has refused to sever diplomatic relations with Belgium, France, and the United States, the three countries it has accused of interfering in Zaire's domestic affairs. According to Minister of External Relations Mpinga Kassenda, who was responding today to the concern of the members of the National Assembly, severing relations is not the solution. The government will take measures so that Belgium, France, and the United States no longer dictate their will to Zaire's domestic policy and we can arrive at tougher measures if Belgium persists in its attitude, he added.

According to Mpinga Kassenda, the Belgium-Zaire dispute should be discussed anew. In case this is not possible, there will be a need to resort to the International Court of Justice at The Hague.

Government Protests Western Embassy Visa Practices

AB2904183193 Kinshasa Tele-Zaire Television Network in French 1230 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] For some time now, the government has been protesting to some Western embassies which refuse to deliver entry visas to a category of Zairians under the pretext that they belong to the head of state's political entourage. Curiously, these embassies issue visas to other Zairian citizens without any verbal notes, contrary to diplomatic rules.

Circles close to the government wonder how long Zaire will allow state authority to be trampled upon by certain embassies which interfere in Zaire's internal affairs. The same government circles suggest that drastic measures be taken very soon. These measures include selectively banning anyone who obtains a visa from leaving the country.

Embassies May Face Retaliation

AB2904200993 Kinshasa Voix du Zaire in French 1800 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] We have just received a communique from the Ministry of Communications and Press which we will read to you:

Faced with measures that violate fundamental human rights adopted by some foreign embassies against a category of Zairian citizens, the government of the Republic has reacted by addressing a verbal note to all diplomatic missions accredited to Kinshasa. The Ministry of External Relations is asking diplomatic missions that have to this point applied restrictive measures in granting visas to certain Zairians to put an immediate end to this practice, the communique we have just received in our studio states.

The government also warns all diplomatic missions that, henceforth, irrespective of where it is located, any embassy that applies such measures will expose its nationals to immediate retaliatory measures in accordance with the related provisions of the 18 April 1961 Vienna Convention, the communique continues. It adds that the international and national community will recall that for some time now, the diplomatic missions of some countries located in Kinshasa and some capitals of neighboring countries have been applying restrictive

measures in the granting of visas to Zairians who are members of the president's family, civilian associations, and political parties that are close to the presidential group.

The government would like to point out that such measures, which penalize freedom of opinion and association, are at the very least discriminatory and thus constitute a flagrant violation of human rights, with which countries with a long tradition of democracy credit themselves, the communique adds.

To conclude, it points out that in circles close to the government, measures going as far as banning departures could be applied against the beneficiaries of the discriminatory visas issued by certain embassies, which are sometimes issued without any verbal notes. The communique is signed by the minister of communications and press.

'Kidnapped' Minister Under House Arrest

AB2904101793 Paris AFP in French 2153 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Kinshasa, 28 Apr (AFP)—Pierre Lumbi, external relations minister in Etienne Tshisekedi's government in Zaire, who was kidnapped on 26 April by uniformed men, has been put under house arrest on the order of the prosecutor general's office of the Republic, it was learned from reliable sources in Kinshasa today. Mr. Lumbi was interrogated throughout the day at the prosecutor general's office on a number of issues, including the disappearance of his ministry's letterhead. Sources close to the opposition describe the measures being taken against Mr. Lumbi as "provocation and subterfuge." [passage omitted]

Eritrea

Isayas Cited on Relationship With Ethiopia

EA2904202593 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 0400 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Excerpts] Above everything else, the Eritreans view strengthening the existing relations with Ethiopia a priority, said Mr. Isayas Afewerki. Based on the statement he issued to Ethiopian journalists on 28 April, Mr. Isayas Afewerki, secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, said that the people of Ethiopia and Eritrea are very close. Our priority is to further strengthen the existing relationship with Ethiopia.

Our relations and the relations to be established with Ethiopia are for the people. The results are not only for the Eritrean people, but also for the Ethiopian people as well. He added that we will do everything to strengthen the existing relationship between the two peoples. We want to work together. On this basis, there is no need to lay down a formula on the issue of a confederation. We will do our utmost to develop devotion and fraternity among the people by avoiding boundary demarcations and limitations, so that the people can integrate easily. [passage omitted]

When a question was raised on the port issue, Mr. Isayas said that when we entered Eritrea, we allowed Ethiopia to use the ports of Aseb and Mitsiwa without any preconditions. Ports are not an issue, but we do have many issues that require joint consultations. By citing the agreement reached between the Transitional Government of Ethiopia and the Provisional Government of Eritrea on trade, free borders, and communications, he noted his wish to establish and work jointly in health, energy, and agricultural issues.

The Eritrean people have no one we consider as a special friend or enemy. First of all, we want to establish a good relationship with Ethiopia, then with Djibouti and all our neighboring countries, and in general with everybody, including Israel. While speaking about the relationship with Ethiopia, Mr. Isayas said that the economic cooperation could lead to political ties and later to integration.

We are working to strengthen this relationship without any [words indistinct]. This is not only for the benefit of Eritrea and Ethiopia, but also the neighboring countries. While answering a question on the Eritreans living in Ethiopia, Mr. Isayas noted the importance of studying the issue of citizenship or of holding dual citizenship. If this is not possible, then the people's movement and [words indistinct] must be practically implemented. These actions will open up a new chapter and a new path for cooperation and ties for the coming generation.

In his statement, Mr. Isayas noted that the economic and social coordination will not only benefit the two peoples, but also be of great benefit to the neighboring countries.

Therefore, the Ethiopian and the Eritrean Governments should play a leading role in this regard.

Canada Recognizes Eritrean Independence

EA2904215493 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1000 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Excerpt] The Government of Canada has officially recognized the independence and sovereignty of Eritrea. [passage omitted]

Ethiopia

Minister Calls Eritrean Referendum Free, Fair

EA2904202893 Addis Ababa Voice of Ethiopia Network in Amharic 1900 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] The Ethiopian Transitional Government's delegation led by Minister of Information Negaso Gidada arrived in Addis Ababa today after following the referendum process in Eritrea. In his statement at Bole International Airport, Dr. Negaso noted that the referendum process was free and fair. [passage omitted]

Kenya

President Supports Eritrean Referendum Results

EA2904214893 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Reports say President Daniel arap Moi has sent a message of congratulations to the secretary general of the Provisional Government of Eritrea, Mr. Isayas Afewerki, following the successful conclusion of the Eritrean referendum. In his message, President Moi said he had followed the developments in Eritrea for a long time and had always wished the people of Eritrea peace and progress. On behalf of the people of Kenya, President Moi said he is happy to support the new phase that has been born out of the referendum, as it directly reflects the wishes of the people of Eritrea.

President Holds Talks With Visiting UK Official

EA2904121593 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Network in English 1000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] His Excellency, President Daniel arap Moi, today at State House, Nairobi, held discussions with the British deputy undersecretary of state in charge of the Middle East and Africa, Mr. Mark Elliott. During their talks, President Moi and Mr. Elliott reviewed the British-funded projects in the country, which Mr. Elliott is here to visit.

The president took the opportunity to brief the British visitor on the position of the ongoing discussions between Kenya, the World Bank, and the IMF. The two also noted the longstanding relations between Kenya and Britain and expressed satisfaction at the cordial relations between the two countries. [passage omitted]

KANU Urges Trade Union To Call Off Strike

*EA3004112993 Nairobi KNA in English 1600 GMT
29 Apr 93*

[Excerpts] Nairobi, 29 Apr (KNA)—The Nairobi branch of the ruling party KANU [Kenya African National Union] has called on the Central Organisation of Trade Unions (COTU) leaders to call off their proposed general strike and instead embark on dialogue.

The Nairobi branch chairman, Mr Clement Gachanja, said that while appreciating the plight of the workers, whose purchasing power had fallen following the fall of the Kenyan shilling, a strike was not the best method to resolve the problem. He said the branch wished the labour leaders would understand that the country is going through a trying period which called on all citizens to join hands to improve the economy.

Mr Gachanja was briefing the press on the resolutions passed during yesterday's [word indistinct] meeting held at the branch office next to Nyayo House. [passage omitted]

Mr Gachanja said the COTU secretary general, Mr Joseph J. Mugalla, was not serious in his strike call, as he wants to please workers and be popular.

On Prof. George Saitoti, the vice president and [former] minister for finance whose resignation COTU has demanded, Mr Gachanja said this had nothing to do with the labour movement, adding COTU should stick to their demand on wages but not drag in politics. [passage omitted]

EC Approves Grant for Conservation, Wildlife

*EA2904215993 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 0400 GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] The EC has approved a grant of 216 million shillings for the funding of the protected areas and

wildlife service project. A release to KBC news room from the delegation of the commission of the EC offices in Nairobi said the funds would be used for elephants' conservation and community wildlife programs.

The project, which is being supported by a number of donors, will be managed and implemented by the Kenya Wildlife Services. It will be used to halt the decline of Kenya's wildlife, and its system of national parks and reserves, and to develop a sound foundation for the tourism industry in the country. The project will commence immediately and it should be able to be completed within three years.

UN Environment Official Denies Headquarters Move

*EA3004114193 Nairobi Kenya Broadcasting
Corporation Network in English 1600 GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] The UNEP [UN Environment Program] Executive Director Elizabeth Dowdeswell has assured the Kenya Government that there were no plans from the UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali to move the headquarters of UNEP and Habitat from Nairobi.

Dowdeswell was speaking when she called on the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Kalonzo Musyoka, in his office. She said the working conditions between Kenya and UNEP were good, but expressed concern on the insecurity of the UN staff working in Kenya following a series of reported banditry involving theft of UNEP vehicles.

In response, Mr. Kalonzo said that although there had been incidents of insecurity in the country as a result of armed people crossing into Kenya, the government had taken effective measures to deal with the situation. Earlier the minister had told the UNEP boss that Kenya had an important role to play in the protection of the environment from destruction.

De Klerk Apologizes for 'Misery' of Apartheid

MB2904201793 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1800 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] In a dramatic break with its past, the National Party [NP] has apologized for the misery caused by apartheid. President F.W. de Klerk today expressed his deep regrets for the policy of separate development at the launch of the NP's new party logo, colors, and party flag in Cape Town. Mr. De Klerk, in his capacity as leader of the NP, said the new symbols were not merely cosmetic gimmicks; they symbolized the party's complete renewal. It was the launch of new party colors, a flag with a sun in the center, and a logo. But amid the razzmatazz of the launch came a statement expressing deep regret for the misery caused by the past policies of the NP—for some, the closest to an apology, but, in its context, not an unequivocal apology:

[Begin De Klerk recording] If I could turn the clock back and if I could do anything about it, I would have liked to avoid it. In that sense of the word, yes, we say we are sorry. But can I just say also that the former leaders of the NP were not vicious people. Dr. Malan was a deeply religious man. We should see also the history of the NP in historical perspective. There was a time when separate development was a verligte [enlightened] policy, compared with what colonial powers then still continued to apply in their colonies. [end recording]

President de Klerk said the NP had undergone a deep change. It was a party that had broken with what was wrong in its past, and the new symbols carried a core message:

[Begin De Klerk recording] It is firmly rooted in Africa. We hope that the sun, which is a central part of our new emblem, will shine warmly on all South Africans. [end recording]

Rejects Abdication

MB3004081693 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 2255 GMT 29 Apr 93

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town April 29 SAPA—The state president, Mr F. W. de Klerk, said on Thursday he would not abdicate and would hand over power only to a government of national unity after a general election.

Speaking at a National Party news conference, he said that a decision to start alternative initiatives would have to be taken if a deadlock arose within the next few months. Such a decision could not be left until March next year when the elections were to take place.

"A decision will have to be taken long before then."

Abdication and admitting failure was not an option.

"There are things that can be done to continually take the country forward," he said.

New Party Symbol, Colors

MB2904172493 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The state president said during the unveiling of the National Party's [NP] new symbol and colors that the government had clung for too long to a dream of separate nation states, when it was obvious that it could not work. He said the NP was sorry that the implementation of separate development policies had turned into racial discrimination.

The NP's new symbol is a golden sun, symbolizing life, light, knowledge, and progress. The official colors are gold, red, blue, green, and white. President de Klerk said the new symbol and colors were a witness to the party's renewal.

De Klerk, Mandela Discuss Political Situation on CNN**De Klerk Urges ANC To Eliminate Radicals**

MB2904155593 Johannesburg SABC TV 1 Network in English 1346 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Cape Town April 29 SAPA—The leadership of the African National Congress [ANC] had not done enough to distance itself from radicals in its ranks, State President Mr F W de Klerk said on Thursday.

Mr de Klerk said during an internationally televised interview on CNN that the ANC [African National Congress] and the country would benefit if the ANC got rid of the more radical elements in its ranks.

The National Party [NP] had shed its radical element 10 years ago when it had undergone fundamental reform.

It had found that accommodating conflicting views had had a stagnating effect on the NP and since it had taken a clear line, there had been a new dynamism and direction in the party.

He acknowledged that ANC President Mr Nelson Mandela and some of the other leaders in the organisation had played a responsible role following the killing of Mr Chris Hani.

Asked if rightwing radicals posed a threat to the negotiations process, Mr de Klerk said it was up to the responsible political leadership to reach an agreement which did not play into the hands of the right or left wing radicals.

Radicalism would increase if a situation arose where there was a victorious party and a vanquished party.

"Negotiations must give rise to an accord offering security, stability and peace to the overwhelming majority of South Africans."

This would relegate the radical extremists to the "lunatic fringes".

He denied there was any plan to arrest thousands of rightwingers before an election.

"There is no list in a drawer of people we want to arrest."

The government was moving away from detention without trial and wanted a state where people were charged under existing laws.

The government was acting firmly, justly and in a balanced manner to address violence and was avoiding strong arm methods, which would only increase the eventual conflict.

"We are acting correctly in difficult and challenging circumstances."

This included calling up thousands of reservists to address the violence and arresting people involved in arms smuggling.

Moderate South Africans were deeply concerned at the continuing violence and expected political leaders to bring about a new set of circumstances in which violence would end and free and fair elections could be held.

"Most South Africans are highly critical of those who are indirectly or directly contributing to the violence."

De Klerk Says Supporters From All Groups

*MB2904161893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1351
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Cape Town April 29 SAPA—Millions of people supported the National Party [NP] and what it stood for, State President Mr F W de Klerk said on Thursday.

In an internationally televised interview on CNN, he said he had no doubt that the NP had the support of the white electorate and "millions" of supporters from all population groups.

The state president said he had "taken a few knocks" when it came to support from the black population.

The ANC [African National Congress] had launched a concerted propaganda campaign against him and consequently his popularity in black communities had been "up and down".

"But I am no longer a leader of whites only. I have millions of supporters among all population groups in South Africa."

De Klerk Views Election Timetable

*MB5004075493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2038
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Cape Town April 29 SAPA—The government was not vacillating on the setting of a date for a general election, State President F. W. de Klerk said on Thursday [29 April].

Speaking on an internationally televised interview on CNN, the state president said there was broad consensus

between the ANC and the government on what he termed an "attainable time schedule".

The government had already announced that if negotiations went "particularly well" an election could be held late this year or in the first quarter of next year.

"I am not vacillating. It is logical to first push negotiations and then fix a date. It's not for me to set the date, but the TEC (transitional executive council)."

Mr de Klerk said progress in negotiations would also lead to a decrease in violence levels.

Mandela Says Reform Process Working

*MB2904150793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1253
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Cape Town April 29 SAPA—ANC [African National Congress] President Mr Nelson Mandela would be prepared to serve under a white president in a future South Africa, he said in an internationally-televised interview on Thursday.

Speaking live on CNN, he also expressed optimism about the outcome of negotiations, said he did not believe the ANC was losing touch with its grassroots supporters, and accused the mass media of being selective in their reporting of his booing at the Chris Hani funeral.

Replying to a question from interviewer Brent Sadler on whether he was willing to be governed by a white president when Mr F W de Klerk left office, Mr Mandela said the ANC was concerned with ideas and not with colour.

"If the people of SA want a white man, we will consider ourselves bound by their verdict," he said.

The reform process was not only working, but had achieved significant results during the last three years.

Negotiators had been able to address and solve serious problems and there was no reason why they should not be able to resolve current and future problems as well, he said.

Anyone who ever thought the peace process would go smoothly was not aware of the South African situation.

"We are trying to normalise the political situation, to bring about peace and prosperity. If you bear that in mind you will be impressed by the progress we have already made," he said.

Organisations had been unbanned, political prisoners released, exiles had returned, racist legislation scrapped, a declaration of principles for the new SA agreed on, and a broad time scale for elections set.

"That is a major achievement when one recognises we are achieving these results in a SA that for centuries has been characterised by conflict," Mr Mandela said.

It was not possible to bring about peace in SA without Mr de Klerk's co-operation.

Not too much significance should be attached to the fact that no specific date had been set for elections.

Asked about statements by ANC youth leader Mr Peter Mokaba and his estranged wife Mrs Winnie Mandela, who Mr Salder said had both publicly supported political violence in a way that inflamed racial hatred, Mr Mandela said the ANC was one of the most democratic organisations in SA.

No other organisation allowed more freedom of expression among its members.

What was important was that everyone in the organisation had accepted negotiations as a strategy for addressing the problems on the country.

He could do no other than repeat what Natal ANC leader Mr Harry Gwala had said recently, that the statements by Mr Mokaba and Mrs Mandela were individual opinions and did not suggest any friction between members of the ANC.

Asked whether his being booed at Mr Hani's funeral had had any effect on him, he said the mass media had concentrated on "one aspect that happened that day".

People had booed when he said messages of sympathy had been received from political parties from across the spectrum, including the National Party [NP].

However, when he then said that although he did not like the NP, one had to work with people one did not like in building a new SA, and that he was prepared to work with Mr de Klerk, the same people who had booed, cheered.

This had not been reported by the media.

There was nothing wrong with the youth being angry at the assassination of their leader. This was perfectly natural.

"But what we were able to do (in events surrounding the funeral) was to channel the violence, to constrain our people from committing further violence."

Mr Mandela said that if he was losing his grip on his supporters, the people who booed at the funeral would not have cheered when he said he was prepared to work with Mr de Klerk.

He had not noticed any loss of grip by the ANC on the masses of SA.

When Mr Sadler asked whether he feared he might not live long enough to see the fruits of his labours, he said: "Men and women come and go ... the ANC, which is built on collective leadership, will live forever. No single individual is indispensable."

He had no doubt that the ANC was ready to govern the country.

"I have not the slightest doubt that this is the organisation which is best equipped to pull the country out of the present mess."

Quizzed on whether he would accept the presidency in a democratic SA, he said he would "obey" if the people said he should take the job, "but if they say I am unfit I will also obey".

Earlier, viewers were shown footage of Mr Hani's grave, with a sound track of the funeral and the "21-gun salute" fired in his honour.

Correspondent Mr Mike Hanna said the assassination had laid bare the "frustration and passion" of people who had resisted apartheid for so long.

There was also footage of youths under a PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] banner shouting "one settler one bullet", of an Inkatha impi, of CP [Conservative Party] leader Dr Andries Treurnicht's funeral, of police opening fire on a Soweto demonstration, and of mourners singing "kill the Boers" at a funeral resulting from that shooting.

Mandela To Urge More UK Investment During Visit

MB2804145293 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says that Mr. Nelson Mandela is to urge more British investment in South Africa during his visit to Britain next week. The ANC says in a statement in Johannesburg that Mr. Mandela will ask British businessmen for additional investments in South Africa once the transitional executive council is in place and a date has been set for a general election.

The ANC leader is to address the British Parliament next Tuesday [4 May]. The ANC says the transitional executive council could be functional in June and that a date for a general election could be announced before the end of next month. Britain remains South Africa's biggest trading partner.

ANC Considers Screening Marchers After Vandalism

MB2904152593 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1400 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Eighteen youths detained by the ANC [African National Congress] in connection with incidents of vandalism during a march at Witbank in the southeastern Transvaal yesterday have been released, allegedly by their peers.

The youths were to have been handed over to the police at a news conference this afternoon. The ANC said the suspects would be apprehended again.

Earlier the ANC condemned the looting and burning of property that had occurred and said it was considering screening people before allowing them on a march.

ANC Sees Danger of 'Unruly' Mass Action

*MB2804135793 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0932
GMT 28 Apr 93*

[By Pierre Claassen, political correspondent]

[Text] Cape Town April 28 SAPA—The African National Congress did not want to promote mass action which created a mob of unruly stone throwers and alienated people from the movement, ANC western cape region Secretary General Tony Yengeni said on Wednesday.

He was commenting on the region's May Day programme and said the movement wanted the type of mass action which would win it more supporters.

"We don't want a big mob running around throwing stones. We want a situation where we can take our message to the people so they understand our political objectives."

In this respect the Chris Hani funeral in Johannesburg, which was accompanied by incidents of violence, had been an important lesson for the ANC, Mr Yengeni said.

Mr Yengeni said the broad mass action plan for the region would be announced at a family-day style rally to be held at Athlone Stadium on Saturday [1 May]. The programme for the day would feature religious, cultural and political tributes to the movement's deceased heroes Chris Hani and Oliver Tambo.

Then rally will end with a soccer match between Cape Town Spurs and Santos.

The broad programme of mass action for May would be given finer detail after further consultation with the Mass Democratic Movement Forum next Monday.

"It will be very different from this year's (mass action) in many respects. Mass action must win us more supporters rather than alienating people." It would also be aimed at strengthening the movement's election campaign and machinery.

Mr Yengeni said the mass action being planned would focus on specific key areas of power at grass roots level, such as local government, the education crisis and health services. The programme would be geared to pressurise such structures in order to achieve certain objectives.

"The negotiating process is very slow, nothing has emerged except more unemployment and violence.

"The people are impatient. They want to see change at their own level. If not, the stage will be set for a very serious explosion," he said.

Police Urge Banning of ANC Mass Action

*MB2904160893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1214
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Pretoria April 29 SAPA—The African National Congress [ANC] tripartite alliance's proposed mass action

campaign was intended to "coerce political change" and should not be permitted because of a real threat of increased violence.

This submission was made on Thursday by SA Police counsel Flip Hattingh at a Goldstone Commission preliminary inquiry into the violence which erupted during mass action events in the wake of the Chris Hani assassination. The inquiry is being held in Pretoria.

Mr Hattingh said not only criminal elements caused the large-scale violence, looting, arson and destruction of property, and ANC [African National Congress] marshals seemed to have had little or no control.

There had also been breaches of agreements between the mass action organisers and the police involving illegal marches and non-adherence to guidelines set out by previous Goldstone Commission reports.

Mr Hattingh referred to the Goldstone Committee's recommendations contained in the Bisho massacre report which said that "in order to avoid physical conflict and violence, mass demonstrations should not be used as a means of causing serious and non-temporary disturbance, or as a means of direct political intimidation".

He submitted that the mass action proposed by the ANC alliance could not be justified on the basis of giving supporters an opportunity to "channel their anger and frustration in a constructive way".

It seemed clear future mass action was designed to coerce political change, he said.

According to Mr Hattingh, it was clear the African National Congress/South African Communist Party/Congress of South African Trade Unions alliance was no longer able to control all of its supporters, especially during mass action.

"In many instances during the recent mass action the organisers of such demonstrations admitted to members of the SA Police that they were unable to control the masses."

In some instances the police were requested to take over the control of such demonstrations.

Damage to property during these demonstrations amounted to more than R[Rand]20 million.

The hearing, chaired by Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, continues.

De Klerk on Rights, Responsibilities of Mass Action

*MB3004081893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0111
GMT 30 Apr 93*

[Text] Cape Town April 29 SAPA—The government acknowledged the right for people to engage in mass action, but that right had to be responsibly used, the state president Mr F. W. de Klerk, said on Thursday.

Reacting to a SAPA report in Thursday's [29 April] CAPE TIMES, he said an incorrect impression had been created.

The report which covered his comments after a meeting with the Norwegian foreign minister, interpreted his attitude to mass action as such action being "in order".

He felt he had to correct a wrong impression created by the report.

The government acknowledged the right to demonstrate and hold mass action, but it carried a responsibility.

"Rolling mass action will be counter-productive and irresponsible at this stage but we still acknowledge the right to do so. That right should be used sparingly."

Goldstone Recommends Tough Mass Action Control Measures

MB3004082093 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 0500 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] The Goldstone Commission has recommended tough measures to control mass demonstrations and marches with the use of force as an option for security forces in extreme circumstances.

The Commission said in a report on the control of gatherings handed to the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk, that mass demonstrations and marches are questions of such urgency that legislation is desirable even before the completion of the present period of transition. Draft legislation proposed in the report deals with the issues of civil liability by organizers of gatherings, the prevention and prohibition of gatherings, demonstrations in the vicinity of courts, Parliament and the Union Buildings, and the appointment of conveners and responsible officials.

Mr. Justice Goldstone said that if the proposals were accepted it might prove desirable to make the necessary arrangements so that the act might apply in self-governing states. The commission also recommended that participants in gatherings should not be allowed to use words likely to lead to violence against any person or group, or incite hatred of other groups based on difference in culture, race, gender, language or religion.

Further recommendations were that 10 days notice of a gathering would have to be given to a responsible official and that marshals should be clearly distinguishable.

The Commission recommended powers and conditions enabling the police to ban gatherings and to use firearms or other forms of force against demonstrators.

Officials and office bearers had to be jointly responsible for riot damage if conditions were broken. Offenders could face up to a year's imprisonment, as well as a fine.

ANC Opposes Proposed Occupation of White Schools

MB2904173793 Johannesburg Radio South Africa Network in English 1600 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The ANC [African National Congress] says it is not the right time to occupy white schools. The organization's information and publicity chief, Mr. Pallo Jordan, said in reaction to threats by the southern Transvaal region of the National Education Coordinating Committee that the ANC would not support the occupation of white schools.

Conservative Party Youth To Resist White Schools' Occupation

MB3004090893 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2115 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Pretoria Apr 29 SAPA—The Conservative Party's [CP] Youth Council said on Thursday [29 April] it would be ready to act against anyone trying to disrupt white education on May 26, as planned by black education organisations unless the government agreed to a national education forum.

CP youth leader Mr Andre Vorster said the Youth Council would act in cooperation with other organisations, which he did not name, to stop the occupation of white schools and universities, announced in Johannesburg on Wednesday [28 April].

National Education Coordinating Committee [NECC] Regional General Secretary Amon Msane said the NECC was planning a total disruption of education at all institutions that supported the status quo.

NECC members, together with the South African Students Congress (Sasco) and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), would invade classrooms and offices unless the national education forum was established.

"Such actions will not be allowed to take place without a response," Mr Vorster said.

"Under the guise of liberation and democracy, black schools and universities have over the last decade been breeding grounds for communist revolution.

"The NECC apparently wants this revolution, where burning of schools, class boycotts, assaults and intimidation of teachers are the order of the day, to spill over to white schools and universities.

"The Youth Council will, in cooperation with other organisations, ensure that our education institutions do not become the victims of this creeping revolution."

Regardless of any agreements that may have been reached between the NECC and universities, the CP youth would be ready to act on May 26.

Mr Vorster called on the government and relevant educational institutions not to give in further to the threats of people whose only objective was to plunge South African education in chaos.

Court Extends Derby-Lewis' Detention for 10 Days

*MB3004104393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1022
GMT 30 Apr 93*

[Text] Pretoria April 30 SAPA—The Pretoria Supreme Court ruled on Friday that top Conservative Party [CP] member Clive Derby-Lewis may be detained for another 10 days in terms of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act. The ruling by Mr Justice Curlewis extends Mr Derby-Lewis' detention for another 10 days as from midnight Thursday night.

The judge dismissed applications against the further detention of Mr Derby-Lewis and his wife Gaye. Mrs Derby-Lewis' detention period in terms of the act expires on Saturday [1 May] but it is not yet clear whether police will release or charge her.

Police detained the couple because they linked them to Mr Janusz Walus, alleged assassin of slain SA Communist Party [SACP] leader Chris Hani.

Mr Justice Curlewis said on Friday that it appeared from Mr Derby-Lewis' own affidavit that while he laboured under difficulty in replying to the allegations, it seemed he was withholding relevant information. Mr Justice Curlewis agreed with counsel for Mr Derby-Lewis, Mr H. de Vos, that such legislation as the Internal Security Act was unfair because it deprived detainees from access to people, but when it came to the interests and integrity of the state, such drastic legislation was necessary and justified.

According to affidavits submitted to the court on Thursday, police Captain Nic Deetlefs said Mr Walus had told him that Mr Derby-Lewis had given him a gun and silencer and had told him to shoot Mr Hani over the Easter weekend.

Mr Walus said he had made five reconnaissance trips to Mr Hani's Dawn Park, Boksburg house before seeing him there on April 10 and seizing the opportunity of killing him.

Police Colonel Adriaan van Niekerk said in an affidavit he was convinced Mrs Derby-Lewis had information regarding a plot to kill Mr Hani and eight other people on a hit list. He said she had asked former CITIZEN reporter Arthur Kemp for the addresses of certain people and descriptions of their houses, and said that she would also have information on meetings between Mr Derby-Lewis and Mr Walus.

Col van Niekerk suspected that more people were involved in the plot, because there was information of more weapons, and it would be virtually impossible for one assassin to kill all nine people on the hit list with one weapon. Also, Mr Walus had stated after his arrest that more people would be assassinated despite his arrest, Col van Niekerk said.

He said Mrs Derby-Lewis had eventually supplied important information and leads which she had previously refused to do, and there were still some aspects she should be questioned on.

Col van Niekerk said he was convinced that Mr Derby-Lewis and Mr Janus had probably assassinated Mr Hani with the aim of bringing about "constitutional and political change" in the country.

Mrs Derby-Lewis' son, Mr Anton Graser, a student from Saasveld in George, brought an unsuccessful application, through Advocate M. Helberg, that she should be released on Friday instead of Saturday on the basis of there being inadequate grounds for her arrest.

Police Release Man After Questioning on Hani Killing

*MB2904123693 Umtata Capital Radio in English 0600
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Police have released Keith Darrel. He is the man police said could help in their investigations into Chris Hani's murder. Darrel turned himself in on Tuesday [27 April] evening after lying low for nearly a week. Earlier, police said he wasn't a suspect but could be able to help. He's been freed after being held for questioning about the killing of the Communist Party chief.

Police Report Arrests in Hani Funeral Murders

*MB2904160193 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1255
GMT 29 Apr 93*

[Text] Johannesburg Apr 29 SAPA—A number of arrests have been made in connection with the murders of Mr Rudolf Botes and Mr Alfred Dreyer near the FNB [First National Bank] stadium on the day of the funeral of South African Communist Party [SACP] leader Chris Hani on April 19.

A brief statement issued by the Police Public Relations Division in Pretoria on Thursday afternoon said police last Friday received a call on the crime stop toll-free number from an individual saying he knew the identities of the persons involved in the murders of Mr Botes and Mr Dreyer.

The caller supplied the police with six names and three addresses.

Acting on this information police made "a number of arrests".

"The matter is still under investigation and the names of the suspects can not as yet be made known," the police statement said.

On the day of Mr Hani's funeral rampaging youths torched five private houses near the stadium and Mr Botes and Mr Dreyer, who had hidden in one of the houses, were killed. Some reports said the two men were hacked to death before being incinerated.

Police later offer an award of R[Rand]100,000 for information leading to the arrests and conviction of the murderers.

Memorial Rallies Held in Honor of Tambo**Sexwale Speaks in Umtata**

MB2904184393 Umtata Capital Radio in English 1500 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The ANC's [African National Congress] armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK] has been urged to work closely with the governments of Transkei and Venda. MK was told to forge better links with these homelands by the chairman of the ANC in the PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] area, Tokyo Sexwale. Stan Mzimba reports:

[Mzimba] Speaking at the memorial service for the ANC's Oliver Tambo held in Umtata, Sexwale said he regards the two homelands as liberated zones for the oppressed masses. He said should people in the struggle lose Transkei, the struggle against apartheid will go back to square one. Sexwale said should South African security forces invade Transkei, his organization has plans to counter such action. He urged people who implement mass action to take it easy on Transkei, because things there are not as bad as they are in South Africa.

The president of the ANC Youth League, Peter Mokaba, who was to have spoken at the service, did not turn up.

More on Remarks

MB3004075093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0108 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Umtata April 29 SAPA—The liberation struggle would be going into reverse if the Transkei was reincorporated into South Africa, PWV [Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging] African National Congress [ANC] Chairman Tokyo Sexwale told a packed Independence Stadium in Umtata on Thursday [29 April].

Mr Sexwale, who was sharing the platform with Transkei ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, was speaking at a memorial service for ANC National Chairman Oliver Tambo who died at the weekend.

"It would be dangerous to reincorporate our base (into South Africa). That would be a dangerous trap," said Mr Sexwale. "We must first clean South Africa."

Referring to the assassination of South African Communist Party [SACP] General Secretary Chris Hani, he alleged "the system" had directed people's attention to the SACP, the ANC and its armed wing Umkhonto we Sizwe [Spear of the Nation; MK] before the killing.

"(Mr) Hani was killed by a man who is licensed to carry an automatic sub-machine gun and who had connections with military intelligence."

Mr Sexwale said that on the weekend of Mr Hani's death Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had referred to the ANC/SACP as "a bunch of criminals".

"What do you do to a criminal?" Mr Sexwale asked. "Shoot him?"

He said Mr Tambo was a fighter for human rights and the brain behind the Harare Declaration.

Speaker after speaker praised M. Tambo as a man of high moral standards.

The ANC Youth League warned that May 31 would be "D-Day" for the liberation struggle if a date for elections had not been announced.

Government offices and businesses in the Transkei capital closed between 11am and 3pm to enable people to attend the service.

Holomisa Pays Tribute

MB3004091293 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2210 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Umtata April 29 SAPA—The stunning successes and resounding victories of the late Oliver Tambo's multi-pronged strategies over the years had thrown the National Party [NP] government into disarray, forcing it to rethink and yield to demands for vast social change, Transkei's military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said on Thursday.

Speaking at a memorial service in Umtata for the African National Congress chairman who died on Saturday [24 April], he paid tribute to Mr Tambo as one of South Africa's great sons who had devoted his entire life for the liberation of the oppressed people.

"He braved the wrath of the architects of the system at a time when they were ruthlessly crushing all forms of opposition."

In exile, Mr Tambo's leadership qualities, gentleness and intellectual refinement had enabled him to measure up to the expectations of the millions struggling inside South Africa.

Mr Tambo had succeeded in mobilising international support against exclusive white rule and on the diplomatic front, he had successfully isolated white South Africa.

"He convinced the international community of the need to impose comprehensive, mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa.

"Through his tireless efforts South Africa came to be regarded as a polecat and pariah state—it was even shunned by the capitalist western democracies."

On the home front, the politicisation of the masses had grown by leaps and bounds, giving birth to the mass democratic movement, and Mr Tambo had ensured the struggle was waged on all fronts through broad popular participation.

"Every theatre of operation and field of human activity became a battle field.

"The stunning successes and resounding victories of Mr Tambo's multi-pronged strategies threw the NP government into disarray, and the disinvestment campaign gathered momentum.

"This compelled the Nats to rethink and yield to the demands for vast social change."

Maj-Gen Holomisa said he had met Mr Tambo in London in 1989. He had a clear vision of where South Africa was headed for.

"He did not doubt that the NP had been pushed into a corner and the only way out was to heed the demands for a negotiated political settlement."

Mr Tambo's shuttle diplomacy between the world's capitals and communication with all international forums had relegated the SA Government to a lesser status.

"The Nats, realising they were using back doors to enter the capitals of the world, surrendered and gave in to negotiations."

Mr Tambo had contributed immensely to the unbanning of all political organisations and the negotiation process.

"We are where we are today because of his patriotism and selfless devotion to his people, a man reputed for putting national interests above personal considerations."

It was unfortunate Mr Tambo had died before witnessing the birth of a new non-racial and democratic South Africa for which he had struggled so much.

"Millions of South Africans will continue the struggle until what he championed is achieved," Maj-Gen Holomisa said.

Zambia's Kaunda on Negotiations

MB3004075493 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2311 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 29 SAPA—South Africans had suffered enough and should not still be arguing about who should be their leader, former Zambian president Dr Kenneth Kaunda said on Thursday [29 April].

Dr Kaunda, who called for elections immediately, was speaking at a memorial service in Benoni on the East Rand for African National Congress National Chairman Oliver Tambo, SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news reported.

The former Zambian leader said those who stalled or delayed negotiations would be going against Mr Tambo's principles, and South Africans had a duty to see that what the former ANC president had started, was accomplished.

ANC International Affairs Department Head Thabo Mbeki said now was the time for healing and urged everyone, especially the youth, to treat Mr Tambo's funeral with the dignity and respect it deserved.

Inkatha's Mdlalose Opposes Setting of Election Date

MB2804134293 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 26 Apr 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program presented by Rashid Meir]

[Text] [Meir] Relations between the Inkatha movement and the South African Government seem to be going from bad to worse. Inkatha has been fighting for an important role in the constitutional negotiations, which should lead to multiracial elections next year, but the National Party government has distanced itself amid suspicions inside Inkatha that Pretoria wants to cut a deal with the African National Congress [ANC]. Today, the whole thing came to a head when all-party talks resumed in Johannesburg, with Inkatha refusing to discuss the issue of elections until its grievances about political violence have been addressed. On the line to Ulundi, I asked Inkatha spokesman Frank Mdlalose, who leads their delegation to the talks, why they are against the setting of an election date.

[Begin recording] [Mdlalose] It will only make violence worse.

[Meir] Why do you say that?

[Mdlalose] I am saying that because there is such a big rush for (?seeing) who is more important and who should be sidelined. The other [words indistinct] being intimidated. In fact, violence is so great because people want to have certain parties come out prominent and others being marginalized.

[Meir] Who are you referring to, there?

[Mdlalose] Pardon?

[Meir] Which people are you referring to, there?

[Mdlalose] Who I am referring to are people that are the fathers of MK [Umkhonto we Sizwe; ANC military wing], which is the real source of violence.

[Meir] So, you are saying the ANC are more concerned with their position than with resolving the country's problems?

[Mdlalose] Yes.

[Meir] But don't you think setting an election date would concentrate people on having to campaign, to win an election, instead of concentrating on taking out their feelings on other people?

[Mdlalose] I think in fact the other way around.

[Meir] So are you saying you think an election itself is not important?

[Mdlalose] No, no, no. The elections are important, but they have got to have their place. They are important. We have (?called for) elections. There is no question about that argument but we cannot consider elections at this stage

when the level of violence is so high, when in fact you do not even have the basis on which people can be elected. Surely, if you are going to have elections, it is not like good old United Kingdom, where you have got a constitution that [word indistinct] everybody, a democratic constitution. We do not have that constitution. We must (?get) that constitution all right, on the ground; otherwise, how can we conduct elections?

[Meir] Some people would say that, you know, one of the reasons why Inkatha is taking up this position and stalling, is because you fear that you would not do very well in an election.

[Mdlalose] But elections based on what? You tell me. If I said now we are going to elections tomorrow, how are you going to conduct that election?

[Meir] Surely, the point of the talks is to set a new constitution on which the election can be held?

[Mdlalose] Well, surely, ultimately there must be an election, but right away now we cannot have that election, so to try and talk about elections is just misleading and in fact it is deceitful.

[Meir] Mr. Mdlalose, some people would say that your Inkatha is in danger of derailing the whole political reform process.

[Mdlalose] That story has been out for a long time and people like to (?raise) that story. Nobody ever tried among that clique, nobody ever commented about ANC wrecking the talks in June 1992. Why did they not talk about ANC wrecking the talks, which they did in fact? [end recording]

IFP's Buthelezi Addresses Italian Institute

MB2804210093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 2019
GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] Johannesburg April 28 SAPA—Before anything else, multiparty negotiators should decide on the country's future "form of state", Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) President Mangosuthu Buthelezi reiterated in Rome this week.

"The government and the African National Congress/South African Communist Party [ANC/SACP] alliance are pushing for a centralised process which will ignore regional aspirations," Mr Buthelezi said.

He warned this could result in a form of government which would not eradicate the "heritage of authoritarianism and centralism left over from the apartheid regime", and would have disastrous consequences for the economy.

"The process of transformation should proceed from a preliminary decision on the form of state, which is to say whether South Africa should be a unitary, a regional, a federal or a confederal state," Mr Buthelezi said.

"Only once this issue is resolved can the process of transformation be structured to produce the desired result."

The kwaZulu leader was addressing the Instituto Per la Ricostruzione Industriale in Rome on Tuesday.

A copy of his speech was sent to SAPA in Johannesburg. He is expected back in South Africa on Monday.

The Instituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale is a public institution comprising state enterprises, a spokesman at the Italian Embassy in Pretoria said on Wednesday.

The aim of Mr Buthelezi's visit was "to make contact between the institute and Mr Buthelezi and the kwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation (KFC) to check the possibility of the institute preparing a feasibility study for development projects in kwaZulu", the spokesman said.

KFC executive director, Dr Marius Spies, also addressed the institute.

Mr Buthelezi said the ANC/SACP/COSATU [Congress of South African Trade Unions] alliance had refused to provide any real guarantees about the entrenchment of constitutional provisions that would protect economic pluralism, freedom and democracy.

"On the contrary, they are giving clear indications of their desire to pursue a planned strategy aimed at seizing the totality of powers in our country.

"We have determined that the only way of stopping the seizure of power is through the preliminary establishment of federalism in South Africa under a final constitution for a federal republic of South Africa which precedes the empowerment of a new government," he said.

Mr Buthelezi restated his commitment to preserving a free market economy based on private initiative.

He welcomed the possibility of working with the Italian Government and business interests in South Africa.

He specifically referred to the Tugela Basin, which had been identified by the homeland as an industrial and development area.

"The (institute's) feasibility study should focus on the construction of additional infrastructure and services to support and induce the location of businesses in the area," he said.

Botha Comments on TBVC States, Foreign Policy

MB2904171393 Johannesburg SAPA in English 1413
GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Parliament April 29 SAPA—At least three of the TBVC [Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Ciskei] states would return to South African jurisdiction soon, the minister of foreign affairs, Mr Pik Botha, predicted on Thursday.

Introducing debate on the foreign affairs vote, he said he hoped the TBVC states would be reincorporated soon, because public services in Transkei and Ciskei were collapsing.

He and his department remained concerned about mismanagement and misappropriation in the TBVC states.

"The worse the misappropriation becomes, the more difficult it will be to repair the damage."

However, the government had established controls and procedures, such as joint financial adjustment arrangements and measures to strengthen financial management. Structural adjustment programmes had been introduced in Transkei, Ciskei and Venda during 1991/92.

Significant progress was achieved in reducing budgetary deficits, but toward the end of the 1980s, increased allocations had been made to the TBVC states to eliminate backlogs in social pensions.

Mr Botha said Bophuthatswana's financial position was different from that of the other TBVC states. It had a much broader income base, especially from mining, which contributed significantly to its fiscus.

It also recognised the value of effective control over scarce resources.

Mr Botha said South Africa was now represented in 79 countries. In Africa, full diplomatic relations were now maintained with Cote d'Ivoire, Gabon and the Congo.

Many other countries in Africa and the Middle East had shown increasing interest lately in relations with South Africa.

Budgetary constraints would prohibit residential representation in each African state, but existing representative offices in Nigeria, Senegal, Egypt, Ethiopia and Jordan would have to assume regional responsibilities.

Residential representation in the Gulf states of Bahrain, Oman, United Arab Emirates and Qatar was however necessary because of their potential as trade partners.

South Africa could assist in countering the increasing marginalisation of Africa through trilateral projects with other western countries. South Africa was not a donor country, but South African expertise and knowledge of the African environment would act as an important catalyst for development in the rest of the continent.

New criteria now governed the relations between countries in the post-cold war era. Ideological alignment was now less important than the extent to which governments provided in the political and economic needs of their people.

The arms race was being replaced with an economic race in which the formation of economic blocs played a major role.

South Africa should carefully consider the need to establish a council on foreign relations to assist the government, the Department of Foreign Affairs and the private sector to prepare for new challenges in the country's foreign relations.

WORK IN PROGRESS Views ANC Prospects, Strategy

Chances of Election Victory

MB2804114693 Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Apr/May 1993 pp 10-13

[Article by Hein Marais: "Will the ANC Win?"]

[Text] Late last year, and without a hint of comedy, an NP [National Party] cabinet minister sat trying to convince a wincing interviewer that his party could win the election. Numbers can be magical things, and in his hands they ran along these lines: The NP takes 90 percent of the coloured and Indian vote, 85 percent of whites and 12 percent of blacks ... and forms liberated SA's first government. Was the minister on drugs?

"If you want your dreams to come true, don't sleep," goes a saying.

From whatever angle you scan the run-up to elections, formidable hurdles still separate the ANC [African National Congress] from the kind of election victory it needs to deliver on even a fraction of the promises that have sustained its liberation struggle.

Worse—a combination of sustained blunders, bad luck, foul play and poor preparation might still trip up the ANC's bid for power. It's not as if the transition has been spared such hitches. Clearly, now is a bad time for dozy reveries and delusions of certainty.

The Numbers Game

But first we need to clarify the numbers we're slicing. How many voters (18 years and older) are there? Pollsters are adding a pinch of salt to the 1991 census figures, which also do not include the TVBC [Transkei, Venda, Bophuthatswana, Ciskei] states. Neil Higgs, a researcher with Research Surveys says simply: "It's fraught with hazard." He claims to have enhanced the census figures with other survey data, and says there are 21.6 million voters. The Development Bank of SA (DBSA) last year adjusted the 1985 census figures; it says there are 21 million voters. Asked to choose between the two sets, Higgs says: "I just don't know." So, let's stick to the DBSA figures...

Number of voters	
Blacks ("RSA")	11.1 million
Blacks (TBVC)	3.3 million
Whites	3.9 million
Coloureds	2.0 million
Asians	0.6 million
TOTAL	21.0 million

Now imagine... The ANC wakes up the day after the election with 39 percent of votes cast, just slightly ahead of the NP with 34 percent. Spirited flirtation and selling of souls ensues. The NP kisses and makes up with the IFP [Inkatha Freedom Party] 6 percent and talks the white right (4 percent) of the vote. The PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] 5 percent and Azapo [Azanian People's Organization] 2 percent decide to leave the ANC to stew in its

own juice, and hang on to their swing votes in a hung parliament. SA becomes Italy. An out-to-lunch scenario?

"Worst-case scenario ANC and NP vote

"Assuming the following voter turnout: whites (85 percent), coloureds (75 percent), Asians (65 percent), blacks (60 percent)...

	"votes cast	ANC Percent	ANC Vote	NP Percent	NP votes
"Blacks	8.6 mil	60 percent	5.16 mil	6 percent	0.52 mil
"Whites	3.3 mil	0.5 percent	0.02 mil	85 percent	2.80 mil
"Coloureds	1.5 mil	15 percent	0.23 mil	80 percent	1.20 mil
"Asians	0.4 mil	15 percent	0.06 mil	80 percent	0.32 mil
"Total	14.1 mil	39 percent	5.47 mil	34 percent	4.84 mil

"The DP [Democratic Party], IFP, right wing parties and a small percentage of spoilt ballots account for the rest of white votes. The PAC, Azapo, IFP, homeland parties and 10 percent spoilt ballots account for the balance of black votes."

Such an outcome presumes some serious disasters of the ANC's own making, and a range of dirty tricks and structural pitfalls that will require concerted countermeasures.

Because more than 70 percent of potential voters have never cast a vote, polls provide us with a rare preview of voter inclinations. Though it is inadvisable to read poll findings too literally at this stage (see Pinning the tail on the donkey, page 16), it's when you join the dots and trace trends that they become eloquent.

Research Survey's Jan Hofmeyer is finding political affinities dividing radically along racial lines—especially, but not only, between blacks and whites. "At the ordinary person's level, the basis for consensus has been eroded in the last two years," he says. ANC support among blacks remains steady at 70 percent and over, peaking as high as 85 percent among Xhosa-speakers, and lowest among Zulus.

Among coloureds and Indians it's stuck around 10 percent. Among whites it has not crossed the 1 percent mark. According to Markinor's Christine Woessner, "In three years the ANC simply has not won white friends."

Whatever the contours of its support base, the ANC is doubtless the most popular organisation in the country. But, as Steve Friedman of the Centre for Policy Studies (CPS) reminds, "the ANC's Achilles heel is that support does not necessarily translate into votes."

What fouls up the simple conversion of sympathies into votes is a throng of variables, some of them distressingly hefty.

The NP's biggest boon—and the ANC's nightmare—is a low turnout of black voters. It's one thing asking people their opinion, it's another whether they'll turn up to vote.

If the white parties hammer their election machines into shape, and the NP musters an "Anything-but-the-ANC" panic vote, voter turnout among whites might reach 85 percent. The same feat is very unlikely among black voters,

more than 3 million of whom live in the TBVC states. Even in the best circumstances, effective voter education, campaign logistics and transport to voting centres will amount to a major challenge. In parts of SA, they're a nightmare of snags.

Down on the Farm

The rural vote might be central to a convincing ANC victory; support in the Ciskei and Transkei alone could top 85 percent. In other areas rural residents have largely escaped the violence and the tide of cynicism and exasperation it has brought. If ANC promises and esteem have lost some of their gleam in the urban townships, they still glisten in rural SA.

The political sentiments of rural black voters remains one of our society's many secrets. They might be conservative in places, and locked into serf-like dependence on white farming communities. Yet those are the very zones where apartheid is decidedly undead. The question—for the PAC as much as the ANC—is whether those voters can be reached, instructed in voting protocol and brought out to vote. If the turnout in rural SA is 15 percent under, say, a national average of 70 percent, as many as 800,000 votes (largely ANC and PAC) are lost. Guess who smiles.

Peril and Doubt

The absence of free political activity is a major barrier. The ANC is de facto outlawed in Ciskei and Bophuthatswana—just as it is in northern Natal and rural KwaZulu, a fact unlikely to be corrected by a mere decree from Ulundi. In other parts of Natal organised IFP campaign activity is unthinkable. In most black townships the chances are poor that we'll see NP politicians going on the stump.

Parts of townships—particularly squatter areas—are carved up into fiefdoms of various sorts (by chiefs, squatter lords, civics, militant youth), making access for political campaigns a controversial and explosive matter.

Kneejerk radicals might disagree that this is a problem; after all, why should the enemy be allowed in to plunder and buy off black votes? They're wrong.

One of the trends Hofmeyer spotted is a "growth of cynicism towards politicians and politics"—in black communities especially "you find a mix of anger and despair", he says.

This blend of uncertainty and insecurity surfaces in the alarming number of voters who either refuse to disclose their voting intentions to interviewers or shrug and choose the "don't know" box. Twenty five percent of urban blacks polled in Research Survey's latest survey fell in this category, which swelled to 60 percent in the Durban area.

Come election day, the insecurities that thicken the township air will be the liberation movement's biggest foes. If campaigning—indeed, the act of voting—is allowed to become associated with violence and intimidation, we might yet witness a tragic twist to the SA liberation struggle...

Faced with the prospect of a gauntlet of violence to or from the voting centre, and unconvinced that each vote is necessary, meaningful and secret, it is not improbable that a lot of voters might "stay-away" on election day.

The Ironic "Stay-Away"

There undoubtedly will be a fierce swirl of rumours, arm-twisting and compulsion preceding the election—much as anywhere else. It's when these aspects turn violent that things become sticky. Balaclava terror will continue and perhaps intensify as election day approaches. Like now, the origins of the violence will be diverse, no matter how conspiratorial a mind-set we impose. But it takes a special kind of giddiness to pretend that "third force" type activities will not be part of the mix.

It will also take more than prayers and solemn pledges to keep the monster at bay. The antidote will have to include:

- beefed up National Peace Accord structures and initiatives
- more international monitors
- behind-the-scenes communication and dispute resolution channels that stay open despite the campaign mudslinging and grandstanding.
- and the realisation that martial campaigning, intimidation and the notion that muscle + rants = votes will kneecap the liberation movements, not the NP.

In this context statements like that of Sanco's [South African National Civic's Organization] Dan Mofokeng, when he warns "white parties" against campaigning in black townships, are foolish and counterproductive. Turning up the heat with threats and coercion will not get the vote out.

Every three black voters that do not vote mean three votes lost to the liberation movement (two of them the ANC's).

The advantage goes to the NP: the margin between it and the ANC shrinks, and its footing in a power-sharing government becomes firmer.

[Text] Converts and Doubters, Unite!

Because the SA liberation struggle took as its central motive (and motif) the "right to vote", there's an assumption that it will be easy to rouse people to exercise that liberty. Think again. Because, strangely, a country that is virtually on hold because of the biggest political drama in its history seems to be losing some of its faith in politics and the power of a vote.

"People have to be convinced that this is their chance to bring about change," says one ANC election strategist. Researchers are busy dredging for election issues likely to make black voters vote. For urban residents they are listing security, jobs, education, housing and health, in that order. In rural areas it shifts to jobs, food, water, education, health.

But there's a snag: the ANC is in a bit of a Catch-22. It has to cool the inflamed expectations of supporters and calm the nerves of capital while at the same time campaigning as the one party that will make a radical difference. That's quite a juggling act.

Chink in the Armour

Packaging the issues and nailing together campaign platforms is one thing. But this is one election that is more likely to be won or lost at the level of gut-feelings and memories. "Don't underestimate the emotional impact of that moment in the ballot booth," advises the CPS's Louise Stack. "Is the vote seen as a national liberation election"? Hofmeyer of Research Surveys also stresses the emotional factor. "You can't shake off the impact of history and tradition—and the ANC has a lot of both," he says.

With the major parties looking towards the advice of heavyweight UK and US election strategists (see page 14), the campaigns will probably follow recent trends and orbit around notions like stability, change, fear, trust and history. If the ANC tries to counter attack by relying on ponderous policies and splitting hairs—instead of sticking to symbols, tradition and broad stroking rhetoric—it could trip itself up badly.

History is the chink in the NP's armour. "Emotions are crucial and apartheid must be deployed as an emotional issue—the NP-apartheid connection has to be stressed," is how an ANC strategist puts it. History versus revivalism. Change versus more of the same.

Let's Make a Deal

The planned Reconstruction Accord (see page 20) proposed by Cosatu [Congress of South Africa Trade Unions] holds good promise for the liberation movements. Despite its flaws, it might do what the Patriotic Front failed at—to forge a unity of purpose and action among the oppressed.

Its attraction for the ANC lies in the fact that it could sway non-ANC supporters into planting their X next to Mandela's picture.

Let's Make Out

Will the ANC, philander for the sake of a few votes? There is a chance that it will try to cobble together new (d)alliances in the hope that they will sway parts of the soft NP vote in coloured and Indian ranks. The danger is that this might alienate some of its own hard support.

The SACP [South Africa Communist Party] alliance, though, seems to pose less of a problem than newspaper scribes would like to believe. Dominant wisdom in ANC ranks is that abandoning the alliance will traumatise hard support, but bring no guarantee of winning new followers from elsewhere. Lately, SACP stalwarts have been proudly quoting a recent Markinor poll of urban blacks which showed an extremely low rejection rate of the SACP—5 percent in fact.

Who Did You Say You Are?

The ANC Youth League has been insisting that everyone over 16 get to vote (Joan of Arc's youth was one example it frequently invoked to illustrate the virtues of teenagers). But the age requirement will be 18. Demographically, this hurts the liberation movements because the bulk of the black population is under 18.

Agreement is not final, but it is virtually certain that voters will need ID documents to cast their ballots. Home Affairs claims to be issuing 30,000 new ID documents a week. But by the end of January approximately two million potential black voters still did not have the documents—and that's excluding the TBVC states. Unless things speed up markedly, Home Affairs will need 67 weeks to make up that backlog. We can expect a flurry of concern about "deliberate delays" in the issuing of ID documents, as well as confusion over what documentation 'citizens' of the TBVC states will require.

The alarm is warranted. But a go-slow in the issuing of voter identification is a pretty transparent sort of election fraud—and everyone will be looking out for it. Eventually a back-up form of identification will also get the nod and ID-less voters will be able to cast their ballots.

It's more likely that a lack of confidence in the voting process itself will deter many voters or even influence their vote. Genuine trust in the secrecy of the ballot is perhaps the surest armour against political thuggery and the anticipated intimidation of domestic and farm labourers by their employers. Instilling that trust will be a central task of voter education and a major duty of the media.

Just Sign Here

"The more complicated the ballot paper," says Stack, "the more spoilt ballot papers you'll have"—and the wider the NP smiles become. In the Angolan election (with its 4.5 million registered voters), there were half a million spoilt

ballots. Of those more than half were left blank, so intimidated and confused were voters.

The ANC wants a black and white form to avoid the kaleidoscopic confusions around party colours that plagued the Namibian vote. The form will sport the symbol of the party plus the name and picture of its leader (a hint that both it and NP plan to "personalise" their parties around the charisma of their respective leaders). The NP is pushing for a list of parties broken into two rows, with it and the ANC at the top of each. The ANC rejects this, arguing for a single row, presumably in a alphabetical order. Presumably, too, the PAC is quietly kicking itself for not having named itself the All-African Congress—AAC back in 1959.) The rule of thumb: the simpler the form, the more votes count.

It Ain't Over Until ...

All in all, clear heads and verve separate us from that worst-case scenario.

If the Zimbabwean and Namibian elections teach us anything it's that the confidence of your supporters doesn't necessarily translate into reality. In Zimbabwe the "smart" money was on Joshua Nkomo's Zapu [Zimbabwe African People's Union], but it got side-swiped by Robert Mugabe's Zanu [Zimbabwe African National Union].

In Namibia, it seemed as if Swapo [South-West African People's Organization] merely had to have its name on the ballot form to win that magical 67 percent; it got 10 percent less. In both settings, ethnic identification had a major hand in upsetting the smoothed logic of pundits.

Whatever the Machiavellian schemes, crazy plots and desperate blunders that kicked in and held up the past three years, we're now locked into a kind of structural brinkmanship. Our economy is on the verge of becoming terminally stunted. The nation-building project seems in worse shape than it was three years ago. Morbid symptoms are flying thick and fast. We're approaching the point where all the king's horses and all the king's men couldn't stick things back together again.

There's no Marshall Plan that will underwrite our reconstruction, no likelihood of an economic boom that will propel us from the margins of the world economy towards where the action is, no "salvation from beyond". Turning our society around from the slow, messy slide it's on will require resolve and the capacity to act. A hung parliament will probably just push SA over the brink.

Likewise a Government of National Unity with the ANC and NP roughly balanced and tied into a five-year wedlock. "The NP strategy is to make sure that power sharing is not simply based on the logic of 'You've got the numbers, but we've got the guns and the civil service'," says CPS's Steve Friedman. "They want to base it on the realities out there."

If the NP gets within 10 percent of the ANC, the balance of forces shifts radically. "Then you can't just tell them to take it or leave it when they start flying off the handle."

There's enough at stake to make this a pretty messy affair—before, during and after the vote. Complaints and excuses are going to be no substitute for prevention and prowess.

What SA cannot afford—and should not allow—is the disaster of the liberation movements tripping over their own bootlaces. Sekunjalo! (That's the way it is)

ANC, NP Election Strategies

MB2804153793 Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Apr/May 1993 pp 14-15

[Article by Andrew McDonald: "On the Campaign Trail"]

[Text] "Our weapon has two edges: one is the spirit of gradual reform, the other is revolution."

This, a statement often repeated by supporters of the French socialist Jaures, captures the current debates within the ANC [African National Congress] and the moment many of its cadres have long dreamt of—the eve of elections.

For an organisation facing its first election, the ANC has already shown a high degree of flexibility in meeting the demands of modern electioneering.

It has tapped into the recent British and U.S. election experiences and had personal briefings with British consultants Philip Gould & Associates. Gould, advisor to the British Labour Party, also played a significant role in Bill Clinton's successful presidential election campaign in the U.S..

Gould's experiences in the British election—where the Labour Party lost to the Conservatives—are useful for the ANC, despite the vast differences in the two scenarios.

He told the movement's elections strategists how the Conservatives had hammered home one message in the run-up to the elections: that even though things were bad in Britain, they would get worse under a Labour government.

Gould referred to a "reservoir of fear" created by the Conservatives. In the last week before the elections, this reservoir was tapped—and a vicious, scathing and often personal attack was launched against the Labour Party and its leadership.

This served to reverse the tide of support which Labour had been recording in all the polls—prompting pollsters to suggest that Labour had lost purely because it was unable to assess the depth of fear for change.

After the Conservative victory, virtually the entire Saatchi & Saatchi campaign—strategies, visuals and all—was shipped across the Atlantic Ocean to help George Bush's flagging fortunes.

The central theme for the Republicans was precisely the same: no need for change "cos things are going to get worse if you change them." This time the message didn't work—and Bush has gone back to the bush.

The election consultants' score: Gould & Associates 1, Saatchi & Saatchi 1.

And so to South Africa. At the moment there's little doubt that with Saatchi & Saatchi backing them, the National Party [NP] will be hoping to create a deep distrust of any opposition—especially the ANC.

The NP seems to be suffering from the delusions of power created by the March 92 referendum, which has led it to think it can exist as a party without a constituency to whom it must be accountable. The party also tends to see the transition as a Nat-led journey with their opponents as junior partners.

As one analyst puts it: "The Nats have replaced their policy—be it on negotiations or the economy—with a series of faltering steps. This gives them the space to even go back on agreements reached in the negotiations."

So how is the NP likely to fight an election? Apart from the themes Bush and Major relied on—fear of change—the NP will be relying on a range of electioneering strategies.

But the major focus will be on what is called "The List." Because the elections will be run on a proportional representatives system, each party will draw up a list of candidates. It will be able to send to parliament the top percentage of its candidates in relation to the percentage support it obtains.

The NP sees the list as an excellent propaganda piece and has given the task of overseeing the process of drawing it up to its National Information and Management Committee (NIMC). The NP intends finalising its list by May this year. NIMC chair Dawie de Villiers has called for the list to reflect people from all the voting districts and especially to include women, blacks and people with special talents.

The ANC will go into the election leading an Electoral Front and has adopted a complex democratic process of drawing up its "list."

In the meantime ANC strategists have been emphasising that in any electioneering the C in ANC will have to stand for "Competence and Confidence in bringing about Change." This means an emphasis on these qualities, rather than harping on apartheid's horrors.

The movement's strategists agree that the ANC will not be able to dwell on the majority's struggle against apartheid as the cornerstone of its campaign—instead its ability to change society will be of critical importance.

The Chilean left faced a similar dilemma two years ago when it was advised that it could not win the referendum

by campaigning on Pinochet's record of assassinations and missing persons. Instead, economic modernisation was identified as the key issue.

This means an emphasis on a programme of "structural reform" as opposed to liberal reform programmes. The Reconstruction Accord proposed by Cosatu [Congress of South African Trade Unions] is being supported as the basis on which such a structural reform programme could be carried out. It will also form a significant part of the ANC's election platform (see separate article on page 20).

Conventional wisdom within ANC circles has it that big business will prefer a narrow ANC victory which would give the political process new legitimacy, thus attracting new investment—but be unable to bring about fundamental change.

The key battle within the ANC has been the development of elections structures. Whereas the Nats have been able to hand all electoral preparatory tasks to the NIMC, the ANC's Elections Planning Commission continues to battle for the organisation's resources and structures to be placed under a single command for election purposes.

"The tension between being a national liberatory movement and a political party continues to bedevil the ANC," said a senior member of the organisation. At the centre of the ANC's preparations is a highly dynamic group working under Popo Molefe and drawn almost exclusively from the ranks of the MDM [Mass Democratic Movement].

This group's perspective of shaping the organisation into a powerful modern party machine is held back by many of the fiefdoms created in exile or more recently.

Perhaps the organisation's major weakness, even during its under-ground period, has been its inability to draw its different strengths into a single focus.

In the past the ANC has had problems getting its military sections to work with its political sections. Now the problem is to get its different departments working together.

Contrast this with the NP, whose executive director, Olaus van Zyl, is in charge of all activities which fall under the NIMC. The NIMC has been handed the entire elections brief, including fund-raising and aspects relating to negotiations.

Link to COSATU 'Reconstruction Accord'

MB2804164893 Braamfontein WORK IN PROGRESS
in English Apr/May 1993 p 20

[Article by WORK IN PROGRESS correspondent:
"Reconstruction Pacts: No Blank Cheques for the ANC"]

[Text] Pacts between parties will form a vital part of any election campaign—and for the ANC [African National Congress], support from the trade union movement is going to be vital.

Cosatu's [Congress of South African Trade Unions] support for the ANC will not, however, come in the form of a blank cheque; the trade union federation is pushing for a "reconstruction accord" which will tie any future government in to making far-reaching changes to the SA economy.

Although the reconstruction accord would form part of the ANC's manifesto, it is more than just an "election deal" and has a life beyond the first democratic poll.

Cosatu sees it as a framework within which organisations of the poor and working people will themselves reconstruct the economy in the future. It describes the accord as an "instrument with which we intend to harness and redirect resources to meet the needs of broader society—while at the same time empowering grassroots organisations to direct their future and destiny."

Cosatu's idea is that the reconstruction programme should be seen in three parts:

- an election platform outlining the broad areas around which the election campaign is based. It would be a brief document covering constitutional, social and economic areas. It would form the basis of an ANC election platform, and Cosatu's support for the ANC in the election would be conditional on the ANC committing itself to the programme. It would be a signed document, binding on all parties.

- a reconstruction accord—a detailed document covering the same areas as the election platform—which will emerge after wide consultation and will probably only be finalised after the elections.

- a programme which outlines how and when those agreements in the accord will be implemented; what role the civics, trade unions, youth etc will play; what constraints a new democratic state might face and how to deal with these from the point of view of workers and the poor.

The programme would be specifically directed at practical steps to "reconstruct the economy" and would embrace—as far as possible—a wide layer of youth, civic, religious, small business, women and cultural organisations. Already Cosatu has had discussions with the ANC, SACP [South African Communist Party], civics, students, youth and some religious organisations on the accord.

All these organisations accept the idea of the accord in principle—for example, it will be central to the SACP's April "strategising conference." When the accord is eventually signed, it will not be a Cosatu document, or even an alliance document, but an accord of all organisations who support it.

The ANC has a two-pronged approach to the accord. It envisages taking the first accord—signed with Cosatu and other anti-apartheid organisations—and using it as a basis for negotiating another accord with organisations and interests (especially big business) outside the ranks of the mass democratic movement.

PATRIOT Blames De Klerk for Hani Memorial Chaos

MB2904102493 Pretoria PATRIOT in Afrikaans
23 Apr 93 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Mandela is Living in a Fool's Paradise"]

[Text] If the Chris Hani assassination memorial on 14 April had gone off peacefully in accordance with Mr. Nelson Mandela's earlier appeal, though he later claimed that it had been barring a few exceptions involving radical cases, then one wonders what violence will look like under a Mandela regime.

State President F.W. de Klerk—apart from a two-hour Security Council meeting held earlier—was enjoying his Easter vacation before, on and after 14 April.

Mr. de Klerk left it to the former jailbird to warn the South African nation on television to hold a peaceful commemoration of the assassination.

The implication of this is that Mr. de Klerk must have falsely believed that Mr. Mandela, and not the security forces, could be the only peacemaker for the black masses.

Militancy, chaos, and violence were the order of the day on 14 April. The black masses did not heed Mr. Mandela's earlier appeals.

Mr. de Klerk, quite surprised, later said on television: "We have heard with shock that a large group of Mr. Mandela's supporters booed him when he addressed a 30,000 crowd at the Jabulani stadium."

They booed him the moment he announced that he had received a message of sympathy from the National Party government.

Immediately thereafter, the same crowd cheered an APLA [Azanian People's Liberation Army] commander—whose organization has been instructed to murder whites—when he got up to speak.

It is a farce to think that there will be peace in South Africa if Mr. Mandela takes over.

Mr. Mandela himself is living in a fool's paradise if he believes that he, the ANC, or the whole terrorist family will be able to bring peace should they sooner or later gain control of an interim government.

On that day, South Africa's 100-year war will probably start.

Mr. de Klerk's "passing of the bucket to Mandela" [preceding quoted phrase in English] literally exploded in his face on 14 April, and South Africa had a foretaste of what the country will look like in the new South Africa.

Angola

Reportage on Proceedings at Peace Talks

UNITA Reports Lack of Progress

MB2904192793 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo
Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] A bucket of cold water has been poured over the Abidjan talks by the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party [MPLA-PT]. That is how Eugenio Manuvakola, secretary general of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA], described the current stage of the negotiations. The UNITA official told newsmen that the MPLA yesterday rejected the document drafted over the past 14 days of arduous work. General Manuvakola added that the Luanda delegation has radicalized its position, and right now one cannot talk of an agreement because one has to go back to square one.

Meanwhile, talks between UNITA and the MPLA-PT continued this afternoon as the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 mandate is scheduled to end tomorrow. Margaret Anstee is likely to cable UN Secretary General Dr. Butrus-Ghali to request an extension of the mandate until such time as the Abidjan talks decide on the role of the United Nations in Angola.

Latest reports from Abidjan say that a cordial atmosphere was restored today and that progress has been made, following yesterday's about face. For the first time today, Ivorian Foreign Minister Amara Essy was in the conference room.

Government Negotiator Updates

MB2904201293 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in
Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The Abidjan talks between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] continued with a pessimistic note reported at the negotiating table. It all started yesterday when the government asked for the revision of what it regards as the main points of the Protocol of Abidjan. UNITA regards this as a hardening of the government's position. In view of the deadlock, the two delegations have met, though no agreement has been reached on the [words indistinct] Bicesse Accord and UN Security Council resolutions, as proposed by the government.

Today the proceedings resumed with the reassessment of the protocol of Abidjan. Some progress has been made since yesterday.

[Begin recording] [Government negotiator Higino Carneiro] What I can say is that we are working well. What was agreed yesterday and what we have been doing today [words indistinct]. So, you should wait for the end of the day to see what progress has been made.

[First unidentified reporter] What about the Triple Zero Option and the release of prisoners?

[Carneiro] Well, we believe in a schedule. UNITA does not want to talk about a schedule at this stage. Since we have not agreed on that, I would prefer not to comment.

[Second unidentified reporter] Since you have been working well, does that mean that an accord is about to be signed?

[Carneiro] No, what we are doing is an appraisal of principles.

[Second reporter] Have you narrowed your differences?

[Carneiro] At least we have seen [words indistinct].

[Third unidentified reporter] What has the OAU secretary general come to do here?

[Carneiro] It was merely a courtesy call to encourage us. [end recording]

Meanwhile, UN official spokesman Joao Lins Albuquerque gives an account of today's talks:

[Begin recording] [Albuquerque] Every point of the document was discussed today. The aim of such a in-depth exercise is to draft a comprehensive document acceptable to all Angolans. Contrary to yesterday's plenary session, today the two sides dealt with the issues in an atmosphere of complete cordiality and understanding. The two delegations agreed that substantial progress has been made. I would like to point out to Portuguese-speaking newsmen that there is a majority of points on which the two sides have agreed. There are other points about which the two sides are narrowing their differences. One of the most fundamental points of the memorandum of understanding is point number one, which has been endorsed by the two sides. I could even add that the wording of point number is as follows: Day D is the date when the Government of the Republic of Angola and UNITA sign the Protocol of Abidjan and begin implementing the cease-fire and national reconciliation.

So, today the talks centered around the search for appropriate terminology. Once all aspects have been dealt with, the rest will be a matter of [words indistinct]. At today's session we covered (?one and a half pages), reviewing more than (?10) points out of a total of 40. The session discussed issues like the release of prisoners.

[Fourth unidentified reporter] Has an agreement been reached?

[Albuquerque] Yes, but it would be better to clarify everything so that there should be no doubts about such an important document that deals with peace for Angola. [end recording]

'No Significant Progress'

MB3004070093 Luanda TPA Television Network in Portuguese 1930 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Report from Abidjan by People's Television of Angola reporter Isidro Sanhanga, including interview with General Higino Carneiro, member of the Angolan Government team to the Abidjan peace talks, by unidentified reporters, in Abidjan on 29 April]

[Excerpts] Less than 24 hours before the UN Angola Verification Mission-2 mandate expires, no significant progress has been made at the Abidjan talks between the government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA]. OAU Secretary General Salim Ahmed Salim was in Abidjan today to try to bring the sides closer together. However, it is not known when the signing of a protocol will take place. Correspondent Isidro Sanhanga provides the details:

[Sanhanga] The UNAVEM-2 mandate expires tomorrow. The UN Security Council may extend the mandate should the ongoing Abidjan talks produce an agreement.

The presence in Abidjan of the OAU secretary general shows the importance that that organization pays to the Angolan peace talks. Salim Ahmed Salim says he believes that the negotiations will be successful, despite a number of differences. He reiterated the OAU's belief that there can be no military solution to the Angolan crisis. He said he is hopeful and appealed to the Angolan leaders to find a positive solution. Salim Ahmed Salim said he met with President Houphouet Boigny, Foreign Minister Amara Essy, the observers of the Angolan peace process, and UN officials. He saluted and acknowledged the role played by the observers and the United Nations. He endorsed a continued UN presence in Angola in order to restore peace in that country.

The OAU secretary general has already left for Dakar where, among other issues, he will brief OAU chairman Abdou Diouf on the current state of the Angolan peace talks.

Meanwhile, the delegations to the Abidjan talks held a plenary meeting this morning. [passage omitted]

The government believes time is needed for peace in Angola to be achieved. Peace must not be achieved at any cost, notably at the expense of legality.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] [Words indistinct] some remarks which damaged everything?

[Carneiro] [Words indistinct] I think so. I do not know how many times (?he) had already talked and yet nothing was damaged [words indistinct] contradicted themselves.

[Reporter] When [words indistinct]?

[Carneiro] There are fundamental differences concerning press freedom, UNITA's withdrawal from the

areas it has occupied illegally in the face of international condemnation, and the extension of state administration, which UNITA wants to link to a national reconciliation analysis. In view of that, you can see what problems [words indistinct] what type of analysis are we going to make?

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] about tomorrow?

[Carneiro] I am.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] the signing of a protocol?

[Carneiro] I doubt it. No protocol will be signed for as long as there is no accord. There has to be absolute consensus. We must be very clear about what we are going to do. We must know what the guarantees are. We do not want peace at any price for Angola. We want just and lasting peace for our country.

[Reporter] Your words suggest a protocol will not be signed by 30 April?

[Carneiro] I do not know. I am not worried about the deadline. I want to see that something effective will be worked out.

[Reporter] You have mentioned fundamental differences. What are you talking about? Does that mean that the Abidjan talks might fail, just the Addis Ababa talks did?

[Carneiro] No, I would not put it that way, but we will have to wait and see. We are going to wait. We will continue our talks tomorrow.

[Reporter] Nevertheless, it must be said that an end to these talks seemed closer at one point.

[Carneiro] I would not say that. Without wishing to raise any controversy, I can tell you that we, rather than UNITA, have always been closer to the observers' position.

[Reporter] UNITA claims the contrary. It claims that it is closer to the observers' position.

[Carneiro] [Words indistinct] what are they going to say?

[Reporter] [Words indistinct]?

[Carneiro] I have no idea. [end recording]

[Sanhanga] The government-UNITA talks remain open. At this time, the two delegations are still holding a plenary meeting to discuss issues related to the fundamental issue: a cease-fire accord.

Government Team Hopeful of Accord

MB3004073193 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Yesterday the teams to the Abidjan peace talks did not sign the cease-fire accord for which the martyred Angolan people have waited so long. The meeting is to

continue today. General Higino Carneiro, member of the Angolan Government team to the talks, had this to say:

[Begin recording] [Carneiro] We analyzed the principles and their interpretation during the day.

[Unidentified reporter] Is there any consensus? Have yesterday's differences been overcome?

[Carneiro] There is no consensus in terms of principles. There is consensus regarding interpretation, but there has been no consensus regarding other things. Obviously, we will continue talking.

[Reporter] On which points is there consensus?

[Carneiro] Several of them.

[Reporter] Could you mention the most important ones?

[Carneiro] I would prefer not to say. Please wait for the end. I think we will achieve an accord.

[Reporter] What about tension now? Has it eased in relation to yesterday?

[Carneiro] I do not know. Yesterday, nobody [words indistinct] alteration. Speaking for myself and for the government, we said what we had on our minds. Thus, it would not have mattered to have left this meeting without saying....

[Reporter, interrupting] [Words indistinct] on your mind?

[Carneiro] No, what [words indistinct] also appeared, but, on the basis of past experiences, there was the need for achieving real national reconciliation, the need for establishing a trustworthy and lasting accord.

[Reporter] Was there any last minute alteration?

[Carneiro] No, nothing of the kind.

[Reporter] You think an accord will be achieved [words indistinct] today?

[Carneiro] No, I [words indistinct] because we are even doing well. Yes, there are difficulties in terms of interpretation. Nonetheless, I believe [words indistinct] will help our thinking.

[Reporter] Do difficulties concern interpretation alone?

[Carneiro] Yes, they are principally related to interpretation. Speaking broadly, there is even consensus in terms of principles. [end recording]

UNITA Says Talks Back on Track

MB3004073293 Luanda Radio Nacional Network in Portuguese 0600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Interview with Jorge Valentim, National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) chief negotiator at the Abidjan peace talks, by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] General Higino Carneiro of the government team to the peace talks believes an accord will be signed soon. UN Special Representative Margaret Anstee has also expressed optimism. UNITA chief negotiator Jorge Valentim believes talks resumed in an agreeable atmosphere.

[Begin recording] [Valentim] The peace talks are back on track. It is moving toward its final stage: peace in Angola. We are happy that the talks resumed in a new climate. There have been frank and open discussions. We have made progress in [word indistinct] points. We believe we can wind up the whole thing in a few days. We cannot suggest what day or hour. We just want to be practical and pragmatic.

[Reporter] The government [words indistinct] the process?

[Valentim] It is not a matter of the government retracing its steps or otherwise. We have said the talks went better than yesterday. They are back on track and are advancing. [end recording]

U.S. Urged To Ensure Triple Zero

MB3004074493 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Golo Negro in Portuguese 0600 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Jorge Valentim, head of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] team to the Abidjan peace talks, yesterday called on the U.S. Government, President Bill Clinton, and the EEC to intervene directly in the Angolan issue.

[Begin Valentim recording] We would like to make a special appeal to the United States concerning the following points: First, the United States and the EEC must adopt a public stand. They must tell all Angolans—whether they be on the government side, or on the UNITA side—that humanitarian aid must be equally extended to all Angolans now. Second, to end any type of military option on either side, the United States must say the Triple Zero clause [words indistinct] and that the United States will not fold its arms should anyone try to violate it. Three, it is necessary that the United States [words indistinct] are here [words indistinct] peace in Angola is an imperative and historic need. Without peace, there will be neither development nor national reconstruction. [end recording]

UN Envoy Willing To Extend Talks

MB3004090093 London BBC World Service in Portuguese 0630 GMT 30 Apr 93

[From the "African News" program]

[Text] The United Nations special envoy to Angola, Margaret Anstee, has said she is prepared to extend the UN-mediated peace talks under way in Cote d'Ivoire even though the mandate for the UN operation in Angola is due to expire today.

Speaking to reporters in the Ivorian capital, Abidjan, Ms. Anstee said the atmosphere at the negotiations was now once again cordial and constructive, in spite of bitter rows earlier this week, but she said the Angolan Government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola opposition movement needed more time to examine every issue in a draft peace agreement.

FALA Troops Down Helicopter in Cabinda

MB3004092893 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1900 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Peace talks are under way in Abidjan, but fighting continues in Angola. In the north, the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] are launching major military offensives in Cabinda, Bengo, and Cuanza Norte Provinces. Felix Miranda, our correspondent in the northern region, reports:

[Begin Miranda recording] [Words indistinct] this war [words indistinct] that it is willing to sign the cease-fire, but the situation on the ground suggests differently. In fact, 27 FAPLA soldiers were killed while traveling aboard a People's Air Force of Angola Air Defense helicopter gunship in Cabinda Province on 27 April. This happened over the road linking the city of Cabinda to the north of province. The Mi-8 helicopter fired two rockets near the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] defense line. In reply, the UNITA forces shot it down. It burned, killing its 27 FAPLA occupants.

More to the south, the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola [MPLA] forces are experiencing hardship in Ndalatando, the capital of Cuanza Norte Province. Five attempts have been made to occupy the city in successive [words indistinct] the fighting was fierce, but the UNITA defense line did not budge. The enemy troops retreated after suffering 53 soldiers confirmed killed [words indistinct] and captured assorted ammunition. Many wounded are not receiving assistance and cannot be moved out.

The fighting continues. The MPLA is insisting on a military approach. Bengo Province is also marked by a situation of war. The MPLA troops tried to occupy UNITA-controlled Malongongo District, but were driven back. Should the MPLA insist on its military approach, the UNITA troops are quite ready for more years of war. [end recording]

Radio Claims MPLA Loses Forward Post in Huila

MB2904172893 Jamba Voz da Resistencia do Galo Negro in Portuguese 1200 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Huila Province-based Lieutenant General Kianda, People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FAPLA] commander for the Southern Military Zone, has lost the FAPLA forward post in the area of

Chenja. Intense fire lasting a mere seven minutes allowed the brave Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola [FALA] troops to take a military position, which was to be used as springboard for future military raids against National Union for the Total Independence of Angola [UNITA] positions in Huila Province.

The glorious FALA forces attacked Chenja along the railroad between Cacoloale and Pindanga. Kianda's troops were defeated after seven minutes. FAPLA survivors fled in disarray. The FAPLA troops left six soldiers confirmed killed on the ground. The UNITA forces captured 16 weapons [words indistinct], one 70-mm mortar, two AK weapons, 205 shells for 127-mm cannons [words indistinct], three ammunition belts for PKM submachine guns, seven clips for AK weapons, two SGM ammunition boxes, six shells for 70-mm mortars, and four shells for RPG-7 rocket launchers. Displaying its usual cowardice, the enemy reacted with its air force. It bombed the area between Cacoloale and Olivenca Nova. As usual in Huila Province, it only hit FAPLA's preferred targets—civilians—resulting in enormous human and material losses.

Chissano Envoy Brings Message for Dos Santos

MB2904183593 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1400 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] A special envoy of Mozambican head of state Joaquim Chissano arrived in Luanda yesterday with a message for Angolan President Jose Eduardo dos Santos. The MOZAMBIQUE INFORMATION AGENCY reports that the message might be related to bilateral issues, particularly the peace processes in the two countries.

Speaking on arrival in Luanda, Minister Without Portfolio Mariano Matsinhe said the Mozambican Government is following the Angolan peace process with great concern.

Mozambique

Germany Urges Renamo To Drop Military Option

MB2904123893 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 1030 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Germany has asked Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo] leader Afonso Dhlakama to open Renamo-controlled areas immediately. That request was presented to Dhlakama by German Foreign Affairs Minister Klaus Kinkel at a meeting in Bonn.

Kinkel stressed the need for unreservedly renouncing all military options. Germany is one of the countries in the Supervision and Control Commission that was created following the terms of the General Peace Accord.

Dhlakama To Visit Netherlands, France

MB2904123793 Maputo Radio Mozambique Network in Portuguese 0500 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Excerpt] Radio Mozambique's Washington [as heard] correspondent reports that Afonso Dhlakama, leader of the Mozambique National Resistance [Renamo], is to visit the Netherlands, France, and Portugal. The Renamo leader concluded his visit to Germany yesterday. [passage omitted]

Zambia**Air Force Says Sabotage Not Ruled Out in Crash**

MB2904170693 Johannesburg Channel Africa Radio in English 1600 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The commander of the Zambian Air Force, Lieutenant General (Ronnie Shikapwashe), has confirmed that an explosion took place on the Zambian Air Force aircraft before it crashed into the sea off the capital of Gabon, Libreville, on Tuesday night with the Zambian national soccer team on board.

General (Shikapwashe) said in Lusaka that sabotage could not be ruled out. He said he had tested the ill-fated Buffalo aircraft himself and found it to be air worthy. Earlier, several eyewitnesses reported that they had seen what appeared to be an explosion. Some witnesses said they had seen the aircraft banking as if trying to return to the main airport in Libreville. No one survived the crash.

Meanwhile, the Gabonese Government has issued a statement saying that the pilot of the Zambian Air Force aircraft did not respond to air controller's calls shortly after take-off. The Gabonese Transport Ministry said emergency procedures had been followed after the pilot's failure to respond. The ministry did not specify what these measures were. It said the airliner had taken off in conformity with international procedures after refueling in Libreville. The aircraft crashed while taking the Zambian soccer squad to Dakar where it was to have played against Senegal in a world cup qualifying round match.

Latest reports from Gabon say 24 bodies have been recovered so far, and the search for more bodies is continuing.

Zimbabwe**Country's Labor Movement 'At Its Weakest'**

MB3004092093 Johannesburg SAPA in English 0724 GMT 30 Apr 93

[Text] Harare April 30 SAPA—Workers throughout Zimbabwe will on Saturday celebrate May Day, with the labour movement at its weakest since independence, the national news agency ZIANA reports.

Power struggles, financial mismanagement, outright apathy and alleged government interference have brought chaos into the labour movement in the country.

And, as Morgan Tsvangirayi, secretary general of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions (ZCTU) pointed out, there seem to be attempts to divide the movement both internally and externally.

Some dubious unionists were forging alliances with government to torpedo the labour movement, he said.

"Our policy is one union, one industry, and one umbrella organisation, and this will remain our cardinal policy," he said.

He said the ZCTU would not recognise rebel affiliate unions, some of whose leaders he claimed made decisions without consulting their own structures.

Perhaps what gives credence to those who argue that the labour movement is in disarray is the long list of splits.

Five sub-associations of the ZCTU have stubbornly refused to hand over their subscriptions to the mother body.

"Fortunately two or three of them have come back to us to thrash out a workable solution," Mr Tsvangirayi said.

The Railway Enginemen Association emerged from the Zimbabwe Amalgamated Railwaymen's Union (ZARU) because the enginemen claimed to have been forced to join ZARU "against their will".

A Post and Telecommunications [PTC] Progressive Workers Union [ZPTWU] of Zimbabwe was formed late last year following allegations that the existing Zimbabwe Posts and Telecommunication Workers Union (ZPTWU) had divorced itself from the "true interests" of the PTC workers.

The ZPTWU officials have been accused of dipping their fingers into the union coffers.

In July last year, the deputy secretary general of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), C. Manomano, said his union had not held any congress since 1988.

He accused his immediate superior of running the union singlehandedly.

"The Harare branch (of the TGWU) has more than 4,000 members, yet the general secretary invited only 20 members to elect 15 office bearers for 1992/93," Mr Manomano said.

The Public Service Association (PSA) saga has been the most dramatic, with the splinter unions taking recourse in the law courts to attain credibility.

The wrangle has been carrying on for the past two years and has no end in sight.

Burkina Faso

Compaore Returns From Mauritania, Morocco

AB2904133393 Ouagadougou Radiodiffusion Nationale du Burkina Radio in French 2200 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Excerpt] President Blaise Compaore returned to Ouagadougou during the evening of 28 April following a visit to the Maghreb, which took him first to Mauritania and then to Morocco. The visit began on 24 April and enabled the head of state to launch a diplomatic initiative between the two countries. [passage omitted]

Cote d'Ivoire

Speaker Bedie Stresses Dialogue at Assembly Session

AB2904222393 Abidjan Radio Cote d'Ivoire Chaîne Nationale-Une Network in French 0700 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Excerpt] The 1993 first regular session of the National Assembly opened yesterday morning in the presence of Prime Minister Alassane Ouattara, representing the head of state. Opening the deliberations, Speaker Henri Konan Bedie insisted on the notion of dialogue, a dialogue which is part of democratic debate and which actually existed at our parliament's past sessions. This dialogue—although with words running high sometimes—the speaker said, remains indispensable for the institution, whose mission is to legislate for freedom, justice, security, and social progress.

Touching on the issue of citizen participation in the country's socioeconomic development, Speaker Bedie stressed the need for union in fraternity, irrespective of ideology. This, he said, will positively contribute to our country's march toward progress.

[Begin Bedie recording] At the height of the crisis, should Ivorians moan over the past period instead of mobilizing themselves anew against the challenges of time? We do not think so, for what would be the good of multiparty system if not to take up those challenges? Unemployment in cities and poverty in rural areas are challenges common to the present generations. Whatever the political leanings, mobilization, creative imagination, and persistent zeal at work are the weapons common to these generations fighting underdevelopment. In this regard, it is noted, fortunately enough, that the new composition of the political class has changed nothing in the efforts of the farming community.

Many think that new programs drawn up with the cooperation of all—all the sociopolitical partners—can reactivate the engine of economic progress. In this context, it is no good seeing danger anytime the majority and the opposition achieve such consensus, as happens on certain occasions within the parliament. [applause]

For general interest, we do not lose sight of the guiding thought of the head of state, President Felix Houphouët-Boigny: Our attitude toward the opposition should be loyal. True democracy demands that the majority rule by

respecting the minority, and in many sectors concerning national interest, it should cooperate with the opposition. [applause]

But to achieve this, we must together wish to share a common future in national unity, peace, justice, and fraternity. Can one imagine politics without considering its final objectives: the conditions for all the peoples' happiness? [end recording] [passage omitted]

Post, Telecommunications Work Resumes

AB2904183893 Abidjan FRATERNITE MATIN in French 29 Apr 93 p 10

[By Raphael Nguessan]

[Excerpt] It is done! Yesterday work resumed at Post and Telecommunications offices after two good weeks of strike. The National Post and Telecommunications Workers' Union finally accepted in its original form the new salary scale adopted by the government towards the middle of the month.

It had earlier rejected this scale, saying that it did not meet the expectations of workers who, sticking to the proposals made by the ad hoc committee, had hoped for a huge general salary increase. Their calculations amounted to 542,503,632 CFA francs per year for the Ivorian Post and Savings Company and 797,780,441 CFA francs per year for Cote d'Ivoire-Telecommunications. This represented an outlay of about 1.34 billion CFA francs for the two companies.

The scale decided on by the authorities does certainly correct the salary disparities decried by the union, but its financial outlay was considered too low by the workers: 200 million CFA francs on the total annual wage bill of each company. After the union rejected the government's proposal on 14 April, the two disputing sides withdrew to their respective camps, thus breaking the dialogue between them. Their negotiations, which finally resumed on 26 April, ended last night with the union's acceptance of the salary scale it had initially rejected. [passage omitted]

Liberia

NPFL 'Comeback' Seen in Bong Mines Fighting

AB2904223193 London BBC World Service in English 1830 GMT 29 Apr 93

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] rebels in Liberia are apparently making something of a comeback. They have been on the losing end recently as ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and ULIMO [United Liberation Movement for Democracy in Liberia] forces have made some inroads into NPFL-held territory. But now, NPFL units have been attacking the strategic iron ore

center of Bong Mines, 62 miles north of Monrovia, apparently with some success. Bong Mines was under ULIMO control, but it seems they are losing it. From Monrovia, [name indistinct] Alison faxed this report:

There has been fierce fighting in Bong Mines since Monday when the NPFL launched an offensive to retake the German-built iron ore mining city. ULIMO commanders I saw today carrying fresh supplies of ammunition to the battle front looked visibly worried and admitted that the fighting has now reached the city center. They told me that the NPFL is now in control of several quarters of the city, including (Boto Town), Bong Town, Cephas Town, Varnie Town, and (?John Hills.) They also informed me that the NPFL had captured the strategic (Fereni Heindie).

The ULIMO commanders refused to speak about their own casualty figures, but claimed that 20 NPFL fighters had been killed in battle. They also said that more than 150 residents who had fled the fighting by way of footpaths, sneaking through dense forests, are now taking refuge at Kakata, 19 miles southeast of Bong Mines. Today's ENQUIRY newspaper said the refugees who had fled Bong Mines for Kakata were deeply upset about their relatives left behind when the NPFL attack began on Monday night. The paper also quoted the ULIMO area commander for Bong Mines, (Charles Dentz), as saying that NPFL will never overrun Bong Mines. I understand that ULIMO had trucked fresh troops to the battle front to contain the NPFL advance in the rest of Bong Mines.

Nigeria

Factions at Abuja Talks Agree on Cease-Fire Plans

AB2904170593 Lagos Radio Nigeria Network in English 1500 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The Government of the Sudan and the Sudan People's Liberation Movement, meeting in Abuja, have agreed on a cease-fire arrangement to enable the implementation of an interim administrative structure. Already, an ad hoc committee is exploring the possibility of consolidating the cease-fire arrangement. The committee, which is headed by Nigeria, has two members each from the warring factions. It will also consider the length of the cease-fire until a peaceful solution is achieved. Earlier today, the fundamental issue of state and religion were put aside and both parties refused to consider their earlier position.

Sudan Government Spokesman Says Talks Progressing

AB2904115093 Dakar PANA in English 1119 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] Abuja, 29 April (SUNA/PANA)—Sudan's spokesman at the current peace negotiations with the

Sudanese People's Liberation Movement (SPLM), 'Ali al-Haj Muhammad, said Wednesday night that the talks were going well.

In a press statement in Abuja, the Nigerian capital, Muhammad said the two sides had returned to the negotiating table Wednesday evening after the John Garang faction of the SPLM had withdrawn an earlier demand that foreign observers be admitted to the peace talks. The minister said he had assured the SPLM that areas in which non-Muslims were in the majority would be exempt from Islamic (shari'ah) law.

The implementation of shari'ah law in southern Sudan, where Christians and animists are in the majority, has been a major factor in the country's civil war. The peace talks, dubbed Abuja II, are being mediated by the Nigerian Government. Muhammad is also Sudan's minister of economic planning and investment.

House of Representatives Adopts Motion on Sudan

AB2904131093 Lagos Voice of Nigeria in English 1030 GMT 29 Apr 93

[Text] The Nigerian House of Representatives has called on the warring factions in the Sudan to lay down their arms and live in peace. In a motion adopted in Abuja yesterday, members commended the current efforts by the people of the Sudan to find a peaceful settlement to the conflict.

Babangida Meets OAU Secretary, Cuban Vice President

AB2904132793 Lagos NTA Television Network in English 2000 GMT 28 Apr 93

[Text] The secretary general of the Organization of African Unity, OAU, Dr. Salim Ahmed Salim, today in Abuja said the ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] peacekeeping force is the only ray of hope for ending the Liberian crisis. Dr. Salim, who paid a courtesy call on President Babangida, said the whole continent appreciates the sacrifice which Nigeria and other ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] countries are making. Biyi Alabi reports:

[Begin Alabi recording] Dr. Salim, who is in Nigeria for the Pan-African conference on reparations, restated his belief that regional solutions must be found for regional problems. He admitted the need for support from the United Nations, but reaffirmed OAU's belief that Africans must solve their own problems. The OAU scribe praised Nigeria for hosting the conference on reparations, observing that there is increasing enthusiasm by Africans worldwide. President Babangida and Dr. Salim discussed other areas of conflict in the continent as well as the forthcoming OAU summit in Cairo.

The vice president of Cuba, Mr. Esteban Lazo, who also came for the conference, was at the presidential villa during which he thanked Nigeria for her support to his

country since they broke up trade with the defunct Soviet Union. President Babangida, who promised more support for Cuba, commended the country's assistance to African liberation movements.

During his visit to Vice President Augustus Aikhomu, both countries explored ways of improving relations in the fields of energy, agriculture, as well as science and technology. Admiral Aikhomu noted that since most southward countries had similar economic problems, a lot could be achieved if they all cooperate to solve these problems.

Another visitor, Mr. Ferreira Costa, vice president of Guinea-Bissau [name and title as heard], who had earlier called on President Babangida, commended Nigeria for her leadership role in Africa. [end recording]

Official Seeks Deployment of National Guard

*AB2904182393 London BBC World Service in English
1705 GMT 29 Apr 93*

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] More alarms are being sounded in Nigeria about the ever mounting wave of crime. The chairman of the local government council on Lagos Island has made a passionate plea for the deployment of paramilitary forces to protect lives and property on the city streets. Prince Ademola Adeneji Adele says the problem of street crimes in the city is now beyond the capacity of the police to deal with, and only the newly established National Guard can save the situation now. From Lagos, Sola Odunfa telexed this report:

Prince Adeneji Adele's alarm has come in the wake of a virtual takeover of Lagos city streets by gangs of young hooligans, notoriously known as area boys because they constitute the law in the assumed territories. The council chairman said that many of them are on the payroll of local drug barons. They hawk drugs like cocaine openly on the streets, while others terrorize the populace to obtain money to buy the drugs. He said that some parts of the city had even been declared no go areas for the police by the young criminals. The area boys are everywhere day and night, accosting people on the streets and extorting money from them with threats of serious physical assault. Anyone who does not yield to the threat runs a risk of being stabbed and dispossessed of everything they are carrying.

Motorists immobilized in the notorious Lagos traffic jams may have their windscreens smashed if they don't pay when accosted. Briefcases and handbags are hidden under seats or in car boots for safety from the prowling hooligans. Women no longer wear expensive jewelry while walking in the streets or riding in cars, otherwise they risk sustaining deep cuts on their necks and ears in the event of attack. Shopowners are specially vulnerable to the area boys. They are forced to pay heavy protection money, otherwise their shops may be looted. The traders, in particular motor spare parts dealers from eastern Nigeria, have put up resistance on a number of occasions. But this only led to open riots in which they came off worse. They led a protest demonstration to the Lagos State governor last month and what they got was an offer to help relocate to Ekpe, a fishing town 70 km from Lagos.

The National Guard, which the council chairman wants deployed to Lagos, is a specially trained force equipped to deal with civil insurrections. It has not yet gone into action anywhere in the country.

Gambia Hails Nigeria's Military Training Assistance

*AB2904130693 Dakar PANA in English 1042 GMT
29 Apr 93*

[Text] Lagos, 29 April (NAN/PANA)—Visiting Gambian Vice President Senhou Sabally has expressed his country's appreciation to Nigeria for helping train his country's Armed Forces. Sabally, who is also Gambia's minister of defence, said in Lagos Wednesday during a courtesy call on Nigeria's secretary for defence and chief of defence staff, Sani Abacha, an Army general, that Gambia was pleased and satisfied with the level of co-operation between both nations.

Abacha assured the visitor of Nigeria's commitment to assisting sister African countries. Sabally was accompanied by his country's chief of Army staff, Brig. Gen. Abubakar Dada, a Nigerian, the national security adviser and the inspector-general of police.

Nigeria is helping to train and administer Gambia's young Army. As part of his four-day visit, the vice president is expected to confer with Nigeria's President Ibrahim Babangida in Abuja before returning home.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

3 MAY 1993

